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THE
WORKS

THEOLOGICAL, MEDICAL, POLITICAL,
AND MISCELLANEOUS,

OF

JOHN JEBB, M.D. F.R.S.

WITH

M E M O I R S

OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY JOHN DISNEY, D.D. F.S.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

SOLD BY T. CADELL; J. JOHNSON;
J. STOCKDALE.
AND BY J. AND J. MERRILL, CAMBRIDGE.
MDCCLXXXVII.



P R E F A C E.

THE following work was undertaken in the ardour of friendship, and from a zeal for the interest of truth, the civil and religious liberties of our country, and the improved education of the rising generation, without staying to count the cost, or to consider the difficulties which lay in the way of its execution. In the collected motives which induced the engagement to the public, there can be no just cause for censure. In the execution of the design, the editor suspends his confidence, and refers his readers to his express stipulations, in which he made himself responsible only for “the humble produce of disinterested industry and fidelity.”

As the biographer of Dr. John Jebb, and the editor of his works, I have availed myself of all the information which could be derived from long personal knowledge, and

from an intimate and uninterrupted friendship : I have also had access to some private papers which demonstrate the integrity and piety of his mind. Nevertheless, certain difficulties and embarrassments have arisen in both departments, which, though they were in some degree foreseen, and were formidable on several accounts, have neither been slighted, nor suffered to impede or obstruct my progress. The recent death of Dr. Jebb, while it facilitates the knowledge of some facts, involves no small difficulty in the impartial recital of them. More particularly, as he bore a considerable part in transactions of a public nature, his name is necessarily connected with many living characters. And wholly to have suppressed all mention of others, would have been to have overlooked a fruitful field of observation ; or to have drawn a curtain before that mirror, in which both our contemporaries and our posterity will look for truth and improvement. To have affected an excess of candour, would have been equally blamable, as it could not have been maintained without

without more important sacrifices. If on the present, and on similar occasions, the workers of iniquity meet with reproof, they should recollect, that as they sowed, they might expect to reap: and, on their own account, we may hope they will feel more pungent mortification, in the recollection of having done a wrong and injustice to truth and the common interest of mankind, than at the barely being reminded of it. I will only add, that as I have not gone out of my way to seek instances of defection from virtue, for the sake of detailing the disgrace of others, but have rather suppressed in silence, what did not necessarily concern my direct purpose; so, where the circumstances of the case required the exhibition of what appeared to me to be a criminal delinquency, I have brought forward the facts, and, for the most part, left my reader to make his own comment; at least, when my facts are special, my observations are general.

Of the importance of events and of papers, different persons will form very contrary judgments. Some, which may seem

uninteresting in the present moment, may afford not an unuseful lesson in future time and on some future occasion : if they shall not produce the completion of those blessings to which they have been directed, they may, at least, induce a better temper in the opponents to their establishment.

But, we may go further in our reasonable expectation : we owe to the great principles of the reformation and the revolution that portion of religious and civil liberty which we do enjoy ; and in the cultivation and comprehension of these principles in their proper extent, we may, by gradual, and perhaps not slow paces, advance in the ways of peace, to the perfection of our christian and constitutional privileges, until both prince and people shall enjoy the utmost practical extent of true liberty of both kinds.

In the dispassionate perusal of our author's labours, the members of the church, the universities, and the state, may learn wisdom ; and in the reflection of having rejected the friendly offers of his ardent desire
for

for their advancement and prosperity, they may, at some time, instance their better judgment by their reformation. The consistent protestant, the affectionate parent, the virtuous patriot, will admire the wisdom and zeal of our author in his plans and exertions for the religion of the gospel, the improved education of youth, and the reform of some important parts of the political constitution of their country, although they may be disposed, in some cases, to accommodate to the temporary expediency of other measures, less perfective of true liberty.

My particular obligations are due to several greatly esteemed and very respectable friends, for their communications and assistances in various ways, the recital of whose names would do me much honour; but, unwilling to make them generally responsible for faults, which may be peculiarly my own, I deny myself the gratification of making any other than this general acknowledgment of their kindness.

The patronage which has been afforded to the present publication, will appear to be considerable from the numerous and respectable subscribers, whose names are prefixed; but it has been rendered still more considerable by several instances of singular munificence, which do honour to human nature, but which were accompanied with a prohibition of every marked distinction. These instances of regard for the memory of Dr. John Jebb, and of esteem for his surviving consort, have greatly contributed to excite my own attention and diligence, as they were attended with the most unequivocal evidence of the acceptableness of my undertaking; an undertaking, in the event of which I am no otherwise interested, than as the honour of my beloved friend, and the interest of truth and of mankind are concerned.

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[N. B. All notes by the Editor are placed between
crochets.]

M E M O I R S

OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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E R R A T A.

VOL. I. M. p. 133, l. 9, for "solitude," read "folicitude."

M. 233, l. 8, for "ftrait," read "ftraight."

p. 88, l. 4. 2d col. for " 17—11," read
" 10—11."

II. p. 192, l. 10, for "divertius," read, "diversius."

III. p. 59, l. 4, from bottom, for "from," read,
"for."

p. 239, l. 7, from bottom, for "this," read,
"their."

p. 363, l. 3, from bottom, for "should,"
read, "would."

M E M O I R S, &c.

JOHN JEBB, the subject of these memoirs, was born in Southampton-street Covent-garden, London, on the 16th of February, 1736, N.S. He was the eldest son of the rev. Dr. John Jebb, (who was the youngest son of Mr. Samuel Jebb, formerly of Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire) dean of Cashell in the kingdom of Ireland, and of Ann, daughter of David Gansel, esq. of Donyland-hall, near Colchester in Essex.*

He received the elements of his education at different schools, in various towns of Ireland and England, viz. Drogheda, Carlow,

* The family of Jebb were formerly settled at Woodborough, in Nottinghamshire, and had continued there some time, but the inheritance was sold about four generations ago. The arms of the family, are said to have been in the windows of the church of Woodborough, though no mention is made of the family, or their armorial bearings by Thoroton in his "Antiquities of Nottinghamshire."—Dean Jebb died Feb. 6th, 1787.

ing the elementary parts of language and science, is sometimes fatal to a young mind. Very fortunately for Mr. Jebb, it seems to have been almost indifferent to his literary progress, in how many places he received the lessons of instruction. And, as the english universities acknowledge the legitimacy of their relationship to the university of Dublin, he lost no academical time by his removal from thence. Accordingly, he was admitted pensioner of St. Peter's college in Cambridge, on Nov. the 9th, 1754; under the tuition of the rev. Daniel Longmire, and the rev. William Oldham, who were, at that time, the two learned and much respected tutors of that college: and, during the vacancy of the mastership, by the resignation of Dr. Keene, then bishop of Chester, and previous to the appointment of Dr. Law, the present bishop of Carlisle.

Early in 1756, Mr. Jebb was seized with a violent fever at Cambridge, which obliged him afterwards to go to Bath, for the better re-establishment of his health. As soon as he recovered his strength, he returned again to

to the university. Sometime in the month of May he kept his first act in the sophs' school, and passed the summer vacation in college, when he applied himself to close and diligent study, in order to recover the time he had lost, by the interruption of sickness, and to prepare himself for the public exercises of the following winter, previously to taking his degree.

Mr. Jebb being, by the rules of the university of Cambridge, entitled to the terms which he had kept in the college of Dublin, he consequently proceeded to take the degree of bachelor of arts in January 1757; and his place, in the distribution of honours on that occasion, was that of second wrangler. And when it is considered, that precedency, at such times, was only to be attained by superior skill in the mathematics and natural philosophy; and that so eminent a mathematician as Dr. Waring, the present lucasian professor, was the first, Mr. Jebb's place becomes equal, in honour, to the highest distinction, on ordinary occasions.

Immediately upon having taken his degree, he undertook the charge and trouble of pri-

vate pupils : and continued this kind of tutorage, during the whole time of his future residence in the university. His unwearied diligence, in conducting the studies of six or eight young persons, at separate parts of the day, besides the pursuit of his own improvement, are proofs of an attention and labour, not only unusual at his early age, but frequently more than equal to the constitution and abilities of the most able and assiduous at any period of life.

But, notwithstanding the hinderance arising from this course of tutorage, he obtained, in 1758, the second prize of fifteen guineas, annually given, by the members of the university, to the authors of the best compositions in latin prose, being middle or senior bachelors of arts. Dr. Roberts, the present provost of Eton college, was his associate in success, and obtained the first. The subject appointed for these exercises, this year, was ; “ *Utrum diversarum gentium mores et instituta solvi possunt ex diverso earundem situ.* ”

In the month of June 1760, Mr. Jebb was admitted probationer fellow of St. Peter's

ter's college, and proceeded to the degree of master of arts at the commencement in the same year; and on the first of July 1761, was confirmed fellow, by Dr. Mawson, bishop of Ely.

On the sixth of June 1762, he was ordained deacon at Buckden, by Dr. John Green, bishop of Lincoln; and on the twenty-fifth of September, 1763, he was admitted, by the same bishop, into priest's orders. On this last occasion, he preached, in the chapel at Buckden, the ordination sermon, taking his subject from Mark viii. 38. "Whosoever, therefore, shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his father, with the holy angels."

In 1762, Mr. Jebb, and Mr. Watson, fellow of Trinity college, (the present bishop of Landaff) were elected into the office of moderators, at the disputations in the sophs' school;* and, again, the following year,

B 4

on

* For the duties and importance of this office, in the course of academical exercises; see vol. ii. p. 285—297.

on the tenth of October, the day when the annual officers of the university are appointed, he was reinstated in the same office, in conjunction with Mr. Fairclough, of St. John's college; being also, the same day, elected with Mr. Watson, to the place of taxor, to which last office both of them were again appointed, at the usual return of the annual election in 1764.

The death of the earl of Hardwicke, occasioned a vacancy in the office of high steward of the university of Cambridge. The candidates for this honourable distinction, were the present lord Hardwicke, and lord Sandwich, then one of the secretaries of state; and the contest was conducted with much zeal and exertion by the respective friends of these noblemen. The influence of government was in favour of lord Sandwich, and is generally thought to have been exerted with unequalled diligence, to say the least; lord Hardwicke derived his support from those, who were known by the appellation of friends of the whig interest. The election came on, March 30th, 1764, but
was

was followed by a scrutiny of votes, between the proctors, and the business was, for the present, undecided. The state of the poll, as returned that day, appeared as follows, for lord Hardwicke: in the regent-house, placets 103; non-placets 101: in the non-regent house, placets 108; non-placets 108. Nor was the election determined, until the question had been before the court of King's-bench; which court, in May 1765, granted a mandamus for the appointment of lord Hardwicke. *

But, we are no further concerned in any question respecting this contest, for the high stewardship of the university, than to announce that Mr. Jebb voted for lord Hardwicke, from the most disinterested motives, notwithstanding the most complicated and pointed solicitations, on the one hand; and the most trying menaces, and threats, on the other. In consequence of his inflexible integrity on this occasion, he suffered much at the time; and felt the effect of the adversary's

* See this case reported in Burrows, vol. iii. p. 1647—1663, also in Blackstone, vol. i. p. 547—553.

versary's resentment, at one of his own elections for a medical appointment, after an interval of many years.

In July this year, he began the study of hebrew, under Mr. Israel Lyons; and, presently after, was his own master in the arabic language.

On the 22d of August, 1764, Mr. Jebb was collated by Dr. Matthias Mawson, bishop of Ely, to the small vicarage of Gamlingay, near Potton, in Bedfordshire, upon the recommendation of Dr. Law, master of Peterhouse. On the 17th of the following October, he was elected by the university into the rectory of Ovington, near Watton, in Norfolk, after a competition with the rev. Henry Turner, then fellow of St. John's college, now vicar of Burwell, in Cambridgeshire. Upon casting up the votes, there appeared to be for Mr. Jebb, 91; for Mr. Turner, 73: and, accordingly, he was instituted into the same, the 15th of December following.

On

On the 29th of the same month, (December 1764) Mr. Jebb married Ann, eldest daughter of the rev. James Torkington, rector of Little Stukely, in Huntingdonshire; and of lady Dorothy Sherard, daughter of Philip, second earl of Harborough.

Early in the year 1765, Mr. Jebb, together with the rev. Robert Thorpe, fellow of Peterhouse, and the rev. George Wollaston, fellow of Sidney college, published, in a small quarto, a comment on those parts of Sir Isaac Newton's "Principia," which more immediately relate to the system of the world. The title of the joint work of these able and judicious philosophers, was, "*Excerpta quædam e Newtoni principiis philosophiæ naturalis, cum notis variorum.*" But as it was the produce of the united judgment and labours of three friends, without any possibility of discriminating their respective shares, it must remain the undivided and honourable property of them all. And, consequently, however valuable in itself, is excluded from a place in these volumes. The university of Cambridge, continues to bear testimony to the utility and excellence

excellence of this work, by the general use of it, in the course of academical education. And, because it is not here presented to the reader, for the reason already assigned, I have subjoined, in a note, the judicious account given of it in a periodical publication, that some adequate judgment may be formed of the plan and execution of the work, and more justice done to the learned labours of its authors.*

It

* “ We are often struck with the resemblance between our undertaking, as reviewers, and that of a traveller ; for, as he sometimes, in his passage through a disagreeable country and barren desarts, meets with beautiful prospects to cheer his spirits, and reward his toil ; so we, in our literary tour, meet with works that give us real pleasure, and tend to obliterate the uneasy sensations occasioned by reading what we cannot approve. The treatise before us is of this kind, and sufficiently appears to be the work of a very able master, though he has thought proper to conceal his name. We, however, imagine that it will be no great difficulty to those who have seen some late pieces by a famous professor, to guess at the person to whom they are obliged for this performance.

“ It is a comment on those parts of sir Isaac’s “ *Principia*,” which more immediately relate to the system of the world ; and begins with a proœmium in which is shewn the necessity of having recourse to the doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios, in explaining the phænomena of that system. Here the ingenious author has compared sir Isaac Newton’s method of investigating the
prime

It will not be thought foreign to our purpose, to introduce here an observation of a friend,

prime and ultimate ratios of quantities, with that of exhaustion used by the ancients, and the method of indivisibles proposed by the moderns, and clearly shewn that it excels the former in ease and simplicity, and the latter in the certainty of its principles. We shall add, that he has illustrated this doctrine in a much clearer, and more satisfactory manner, than we remember to have seen in any other writer.

“ In the comment on the first section, the principles and reasonings of sir Isaac Newton are explained with much greater clearness and perspicuity, than in the celebrated commentary of Jacquier and Le Seur. The reader will, we imagine, be sufficiently convinced of this, by comparing the explanation of the Lemmas, 1, 6 and 11, as given in this treatise, with those inserted in the above commentary.

“ The author, in the second and third sections, has happily made sir Isaac Newton a commentator on himself. It is well known, that the two first books of the Principia, are purely mathematical, and in the third, sir Isaac has applied the reasonings in the former to the system of the world. Our commentator, therefore, has very judiciously given some parts of the third book, as a comment on the first.

“ The demonstration of the scholium to prop. 7, is new, elegant, and concise: and those of cor. 2, to prop. 9, and cor. 1, to prop. 15, are, undoubtedly, the demonstrations which sir Isaac Newton himself would have given.

“ The theorem marked (1) pag. 109, is curious, and the demonstration such as might be expected from so masterly

friend, who considers it as an happy circumstance to have been the pupil of Mr. Jebb, while at the university of Cambridge; and who is grateful, in the acknowledgment of his tutor's excellence, by more substantial and unequivocal proof, than the cold confession of the relation in which they once stood to each other. "When I had the pleasure of seeing you the last time," writes he,

masterly a hand. Nor must we omit to mention the method of finding two mean proportionals, pag. 152, as it is performed with equal elegance and perspicuity.

"In a word, the whole of this commentary is remarkably clear and instructive; but the illustrations of some parts of the 9th section, book 1. of the Principia, deserve to be distinguished.

"We could, however, wish that the ingenious gentleman concerned in this work, had considered more minutely the lunar inequalities; and we hope that, in the next edition, he will treat that subject in a more copious manner.

"But a still more acceptable present to the republic of letters, would, we imagine, be, a commentary on the whole Principia, executed by the same masterly hand: being persuaded, that the difficulties which now attend the reading of that celebrated work, would then, in a great measure, be removed, and the british youth enabled to peruse the writings of their illustrious countryman with ease and satisfaction, without having recourse to the labours of any foreigner."—See Monthly review, vol. xxxiii. p. 205.

he, “ I mentioned to you, that Dr. Jebb, in his mathematical lectures, used, in concluding Newton’s ‘ Principia,’ to insist on the Newtonian system, as the strongest, and, indeed, only rational demonstration of the existence of a deity. In his opinion, we were not to form our ideas of a God, from abstruse, metaphysical reasoning, but from the consideration of his works. Thus, he would endeavour to form an idea of the strength of the deity, by calculating the force with which the planet Saturn must be projected to have its greatest velocity; or of his wisdom and consummate contrivance as an artist, by selecting the only law by which the force of gravity could vary so as to ensure the orbit to return into itself. On this account, he always expressed particular admiration of the last chapter in Maclaurin’s ‘ View of Newton’s philosophy,’ and often lamented that he had not lived to finish it, as it contained, in his idea, by much the best demonstration of the existence and attribute of the deity.

“ Another opinion of Dr. Jebb’s, which struck me as a most manly and noble instance

stance of his reliance on the force of truth, was, his wish to see every doctrine whatever fairly discussed on both sides. He considered a man who published a serious argument against the christian religion, or against the existence of a deity, as by no means criminal, if his real sentiments accorded with his publication. He considered, that such publications, or, indeed, any other which contained serious argument, and not mere ridicule, might, if founded in error, be confuted by the same channel through which they were propagated. But those publications, which either endeavour to throw a ridicule on serious subjects, or to seduce, by enflaming the passions, he utterly abhorred and detested.”*

After

* Letter from John Baynes, esq. dated May 4, 1786. We may also here add, that, Mr. Thomas Pearne, formerly of St. Peter's college, and who was distinguished by his literary attainments in the university, bears the following honourable testimony to Mr. Jebb's edifying manner of lecturing: “ I am happy to assure you,” writes he, in a late letter to a friend, “ that during the time of my being Dr. Jebb's pupil, (a time I shall ever recollect with the highest satisfaction,) he, with views much more enlarged than those commonly entertained by the generality of tutors, studiously pointed out, in the

After the publication of the “ Excerpta,”
Mr. Jebb removed to Potton, in Bedford-
shire,

the course of his lectures upon Newton’s “ Principia,” every circumstance in the laws and operations of nature, which he thought demonstrative of the being and attributes of God.

“ As, however, subjects of this kind were only the incidental, and not the chief and immediate business of the lectures; and, as I was not, at that time, aware of the full value of the doctor’s observations, I neglected to commit them to writing. At this distance of time, therefore, being more than twelve years, I cannot with certainty specify any of the particular arguments which he used, but can only affirm the fact. The following, however, I will mention, rather with a view of illustrating the doctor’s manner, than with any positive recollection of its being actually one of the many proofs, which he noticed, of consummate wisdom in the constitution of the laws which govern the material world. To retain the planets in circular orbits, it is immaterial whether the accelerating force vary in the inverse duplicate, or any other ratio of their distances from the center. But if they should chance to be disturbed in their motions, the evils that would ensue, upon a supposition of any other law of force, would be immense. If, for instance, the force varied in the inverse triplicate ratio of the distance, the circular orbit would become a spiral, and the body would either go down to the center, or else continually recede from it, further and
further,

shire, and settled in hired lodgings there, with a view of being near to Gamlingay : which vicarage, however, he resigned the 19th of August, 1765, having held it not quite twelve months. But he continued at Potton from April to November ; during which time, I find, that, besides a great variety of other employments, “ he read through the pentateuch in hebrew, harmonized the gospels, read about five hundred verses in the Koran, and some other things in arabic, and studied geography.” In the latter end of December, he returned to Cambridge, and resided in a house in St. Andrew’s

further, without ever returning. Whereas, if the force vary in the inverse duplicate ratio of the distance, which is the law that actually prevails in nature, the circular orbit will, by any disturbance, be changed into an ellipsis, and the body continue to describe a path, which returns into itself, acceding to and receding from the center alternately : and, of any future disturbance, the effect would only be, that the body would describe another ellipsis, more or less excentric than the former. When, therefore, we perceive this law of the accelerating force established, in preference to any other ; and thus find those evils guarded against, which might arise from any disturbance in the motion of the heavenly bodies, we must be convinced that this universe is under the guidance of a wise and good providence.”

drew's parish. In the following spring, (March 28, 1766) he entered on the curacy of St. Andrew's church; the rev. Dearing Jones, rector of Navenby, in Lincolnshire, being then also vicar of that parish. Mr. Jebb was likewise appointed lecturer of St. Andrew's, in the room of the rev. Henry Hubbard, who had been in that place near twenty years.

On Mr. Jebb's re-settlement in Cambridge, he again resumed the office and labour of private tutor, and had seven pupils attending him every day; adding to the accustomed labours of this employment, lectures in Butler's Analogy, on sunday evenings. He also read lectures at Trinity-hall, in Tully's offices, for Dr. Ridlington, during the two first terms of this year; and applied himself to the study of french and italian, under the instruction of a friend.

October 10, 1766, Mr. Jebb and Mr. Watson, were again elected moderators, and at the annual election, in the following year, Mr. Jebb was re-elected, along with Mr. Thomas Stevens of Trinity; and, for the

last time, on 10th of October 1768, with Mr. John Hutton, of St. John's college.

In the year 1767, Mr. Jebb continued to take private pupils; to whom he also read lectures in the greek Testament, on sunday evenings; he likewise attended to his share in the conduct of the disputations in the schools, and to the care of the parish church of St. Andrew; and I find it generally observed, by himself, that this year "he had frequent communications with Dr. Law." A note, which I consider as an acknowledgment of the information he ever sought, and derived, from one so well informed in scripture-knowledge, as the learned master of Peterhouse.

Mr. Chappelow, professor of arabic, died on the 14th of January, 1768. Upon his decease, Mr. Jebb offered himself a candidate for the professorship. He had previously qualified himself in the arabic language, by much application and study, and, I have some reason to think, not without a view to that appointment, particularly as the very advanced age of Mr. Chappelow
made

made a vacancy, an event that might naturally be expected at no very distant time. The competitors for this office, were few : and I remember to have heard the general voice of the university decidedly in favour of Mr. Jebb. There arose, however, a candidate, whose success, superseded Mr. Jebb's well-founded pretensions ; and that candidate was his near relation, and, I believe, at that time, his friend. The person here meant was Dr. Samuel Hallifax, who was then the representative, or deputy, of Dr. Ridlington, professor of civil law, to whose chair he was considered by himself as heir apparent, and to which he actually succeeded in about two years afterwards. When the university were disposed to be friendly to our author, it is to be lamented that he found an adversary, who, from academical connections, had the greater interest among the heads of houses, with whom lay the election. It is also to be regretted, that the same gentleman, who was so well assured of succeeding soon to the chair of civil law, (the immediate line in which he was engaged) should impatiently seize the

passing offer of the arabic professorship, to the prejudice of another, who would so honourably have filled it; and who would have devoted some time, at least, to the teaching that language in the university, which, it may be presumed, was certainly in the contemplation of the founder.

Learning may more frequently fail of its pecuniary rewards, even in those seminaries appropriated for the cultivation of it, than of the satisfaction it yields its owners in the prosecution of their studies. Mr. Jebb considered the advantages of the knowledge of the oriental languages as fully equivalent to the labour of attaining them. In his theological pursuits, he was ever desirous of drinking the living waters of the word of God, from the fountain-head; and he used, frequently, to express the high pleasure and satisfaction he derived from his acquaintance with the languages of the scriptures; and from the correspondent and collateral languages, which so frequently throw light upon, and illustrate those of the sacred text.*

On

* In a private manuscript note, dated subsequent to his second canvass for the arabic professorship, I find the

On the 21st of November, 1768, he entered on his course of lectures on the greek Testament; concerning which, the “Short account” he afterwards published, will afford the best satisfaction. In this employment he eminently increased his usefulness; and found, in his own reflections on the good work he was engaged in, that consolation, which supported him under the bitterness and most unrelenting ill usage; and to the last hour of his life, he enjoyed, in the review of his own improvement in the knowledge of the scriptures, and of his earnest endeavours to promote it in others, that satisfaction, which the world could neither give, nor take away.

Dr. Hinchliffe, master of Trinity college, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, drew the university into the tender of no less acceptable an offering to the minister, than a reprobation of the principles and conduct of the popular party of

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that

the following resolution. “Resolved to study the Koran in the original, with a view of extracting from thence evidences and explanations of the gospel.”

that day. An address to the king was offered to the senate on the 17th of March, 1769, and carried. Mr. Jebb put in his non-placet in the regent-house; and, upon a division, only the late Mr. Tyfon of Benet college voted with him. The fervility of several addresses on this occasion, can only be equalled by that from the university of Cambridge; but, without entering into the political grievances of that day, I will transcribe the address in a note, and, in justification of Mr. Jebb's negative voice, refer the reader to the remembrance of those proceedings of the ministry in respect to the rights of election, which even the house of commons itself afterwards expunged from their journals.*

These

* “ To the king's most excellent majesty.

“ Most gracious sovereign,

“ We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the chancellor, masters, and scholars of your university of Cambridge, humbly beg leave to express the grateful sense we have of your majesty's constant and unwearied attention to promote the happiness of all your people.

“ Fully convinced that this, or any other, nation never enjoyed the valuable blessings of civil and religious liberty in a greater degree, than what we experience under your majesty's mild and most gracious government;

These digressions did not interrupt Mr. Jebb's lectures on the new Testament, his private philosophical lectures, or his own general studies. He finished reading the hebrew bible, with Le Clerc's commentary, the 31st of May; and during the vacation, which he spent at Bungay, he read Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, part of Lucretius, and Ovid.

The patronage of Mr. Jebb, which, in every view, would have done honour to the
reputation

ment; we cannot but see, with concern and abhorrence, the evil designs of bad men, who, under the specious pretence of promoting the public good, are labouring to seduce the ignorant and unwary from their duty, by infusing into their minds needless fears and jealousies, as if the constitution was in danger.

“ We trust, it ever has been our constant endeavour, and humbly intreat your majesty's favourable acceptance of our most faithful assurances, that it ever shall be our particular care, to instil into the rising generation committed to our charge, true principles of religion and loyalty, and such a sense of gratitude for your majesty's royal protection of this seat of learning, as will tend to make them good citizens and good subjects, and fully to answer the ends of our institution.

“ To this testimony of our duty and fidelity, we shall add our unfeigned prayers to the throne of grace, that it may please almighty God to preserve your majesty, the beloved sovereign of an united, loyal, and affectionate people.”

reputation of the university of Cambridge, was reserved for a private gentleman, except his election into the small living of Ovington, before-mentioned. On July 10, 1769, he was instituted to the vicarage of Flixton, near Bungay, in Suffolk, on the presentation of William Adair, esq. of Flixton-hall. And, on the 4th of April, 1770, was instituted to the united rectories of Homersfield, and St. Cross, parishes contiguous to Flixton, upon the same presentation. Being also, in the summer of the same year, nominated chaplain to Robert earl of Harborough. In consequence of the accession of these preferments, though not considerable in themselves, he resigned, some time in the month of October, 1771, the rectory of Ovington, which he had received from the university; and Mr. Sheepshanks, fellow of St. John's college, was elected in his place.

The summer of 1770, he again spent at Bungay, and was chiefly employed in perfecting his harmony of the gospels, and in superintending a house of industry, then lately established in his neighbourhood in Suffolk.

Dr.

Dr. Hallifax succeeding to the professorship of civil law, in the month of October, 1770, upon the death of Dr. Ridlington; Mr. Jebb once more solicited that of arabic, which Dr. Hallifax then vacated: but as he had now, by exercising that liberty of prophesying, which becomes every protestant christian; and by recommending the same to others, in his theological lectures, greatly offended the majority of the electors, he was again disappointed. When he was opposed by Dr. Hallifax, the electors were well inclined to do justice to his learning; on his second canvass for the same office, the spirit of inquiry which he had raised among the younger students, was imputed to him as a crime deserving the resentment of their seniors. In these observations, his opponent is no way concerned. Mr. Craven, the successful candidate, was a truly respectable character, and now enjoys, with reputation, that laurel, which friendship would have placed on the brow of Mr. Jebb.

The enemies of Mr. Jebb, not satisfied with defeating his honourable prospects, had
recourse

recourse to misrepresentation ; the wicked, although familiar, weapon of intemperate and ambitious zeal. Wounded and agrieved, as he conceived, in his reputation; and, unjustly cut off from receiving the less disinterested, but not dishonourable, advantages of his labours, by an open and absolute prohibition of attendance upon his lectures, extending to all persons “in statu pupillari;” he determined to submit his vindication and plan to the free and impartial voice of an unprejudiced public. Influenced by these motives, he published, in the winter of 1770, his “Short account of theological lectures,” which was well received and much esteemed. Subsequent incidents, occasioned a second edition, in March 1772, “corrected and much enlarged.”*

On the 21st of March 1771, Mr. Jebb kept his act, in the divinity school, under Dr. Rutherford, then regius professor of divinity. His question on this occasion, had been before maintained in the same place, by Dr. Law, master of Peterhouse, now bishop

* See the first tract in this volume, p. 1—75.

bishop of Carlisle. The question, as it was proposed for disputation, was as follows.—

“ Status animarum in intervallo mortis atque resurrectionis agentium quicquam, five sentientium ex sacris literis colligi nequit.” The disputation was conducted with ability and politeness on both sides, and continued for a longer time than is generally employed in these exercises. The second question, which is always proposed by the professor, was, “ Epistola ad Hebræos a Paulo scripta est.”

The thesis which he wrote on this occasion, is now printed on account of the argument it contains, not for the sake of its latinity. For he afterwards sedulously applied himself to, and attained a much greater proficiency in latin composition.*

Some short time before he kept his act, and while he was preparing himself for it, he wrote to me concerning Mr. Tyrwhitt, to the following purport. “ The professor, (Dr. Rutherford) has dispersed narratives of his engagement with Tyrwhitt, over all England.

* See the thesis, vol. ii. p. 181—202.

land. I wish we could get that business before the world. I am labouring at Tyrwhitt, but he is a quiet man ; yet, as steady as a rock when attacked. I only wish the professor would publish his own account ; it would make a strange appearance.*”

Early

* The questions which were defended in the schools by Mr. Tyrwhitt, were (1) “ *Quod genus humanum propter peccatum Adami laboribus ac morti obnoxium sit, in sacris scripturis traditur, et rectæ rationi non repugnat.*” (2) “ *Confusio linguarum Babylonica absque Dei interventu explicari nequit.*” The latter of these questions was given, according to custom, by the professor, and both of them may be seen, with very immaterial variation, in bishop Watson’s collection of questions which have been disputed upon in the theological schools at Cambridge, published in his admirable and truly protestant preface to his “ *Collection of theological tracts.*” It has been generally hinted in the text, that some difficulties arose between the learned professor and his no less learned respondent, concerning the former’s acceptance or refusal of other questions, which had been proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt. It might be added, that the rejection of them by the professor, did no credit either to his judgment or candor : and rather argued some distrust of certain opinions gaining converts by an open discussion of them. Standing in their simple statement, they would have done honour to bishop Watson’s collection, and to the liberal spirit of the university of Cambridge, if his predecessor had received them, as subjects of inquiry and disputation.

Early in the year 1771, the design was formed of applying to parliament for relief in the matter of subscription to the liturgy and thirty-nine articles of the church of England. Mr. Jebb was acquainted with and assisted in it by his counsels, from a very early period. He came to London, upon this errand, in the month of April; and
on

disputation. Their truth and importance would have been argued before an audience that had all the advantage of learning, and discernment, to have distinguished between the opposed prowess of the controversialists, and the written law of God, by which the dispute was to be determined; who would have given to both, that high approbation they might deserve as able champions for their respective causes, while they would have decided on the question by the greater prevalence of testimony, and the soundness of the arguments, advanced in its support. The principal questions proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt, and refused by the professor, were the following; the last of which was only objected to, in consequence of the foregoing ones.

1. *Preces christianorum ad Deum solum, patrem Jesu Christi, dirigendæ sunt.*

2. *In cœtum christianum recipiendi sunt, qui Jesum pro vero messia agnoscunt; etsi illum vel Deo longe inferiorem, vel etiam merum hominem esse credant.*

3. *Lex christiana æternis pœnis non sancitur.*

4. *Nullum fidei christianæ dogma in sacris scripturis traditum, est rectæ rationi dissentaneum.*

on July the 17th, he attended the first general meeting at the Feathers tavern, in consequence of public advertisement for that purpose; at which time, he was appointed one of the “ committee, to prepare a petition to parliament to obtain redress in the matter of subscription to the liturgy and thirty-nine articles of the church of England.”

At a meeting of that committee, on the 20th of September following, a draft of a petition was laid before them, and after some revision, approved. And the petition so agreed on, was afterwards adopted, at the second general meeting, on the 25th of the same month.

In the interval between such second general meeting and the following one, fixed for December the 11th, or, more accurately, very soon after the 25th of September, it was judged expedient to circulate an explicit account of the plan and design of the association; and though such paper was not formally avowed, by vote, either of the committee or general meeting, it was unanimously approved by the committee, and printed at their joint expense. It has generally

nerally been denominated “ the circular letter ;” and this letter was the production of Mr. Jebb, subject indeed to some few corrections, which the several members of the committee suggested.*

From the month of June to October 26, 1771, Mr. Jebb chiefly resided at Bungay ; and was engaged in the ministerial duties of his parishes in the neighbourhood, and in vindicating the cause of the petitioning clergy in the public papers. During this time also, he got by heart the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians.

As Mr. Jebb had been appointed, at the meeting in September, of the committee to “ consider of proper steps to circulate the petition then approved :” so, at that on December 11, he, together with his former associates, and several others, were appointed a committee, “ for the purpose of considering the proper ways and means of introducing the petition into the house of commons.”

The attention of the university was much
occupied,

* See vol. ii. p. 12.

occupied, at this time, as may naturally be supposed, in the discussion of the right of protestant churches to require subscription to systematical confessions of faith and doctrine. Dr. Samuel Hallifax, now bishop of Gloucester, appeared among the most prompt and ready of those champions, who, having denied the right to the church of Rome, claimed it, as belonging to the church of England : he also professed to defend the specific doctrines which are contained in the formularies of the established church. It might seem invidious to say more of his labours on this occasion ; but, it certainly would not have lessened the estimation, either of his judgment or his zeal, in the opinion of his auditors, had he spared that inundation of personal abuse of Mr. Jebb, which would have disgraced a much superior composition, and, assuredly, added no beauty to his own. The sermons, in the subsequent corrected state, in which they are given to the public, are now only memorable for the singular futility of their argument ; and would have been forgotten, but for the masterly, though severe, letter they occasioned to be addressed

to

to the author. This letter was generally ascribed to the rev. Samuel Blackall, then fellow of Emmanuel college, but lately presented by that society, to the rectory of Loughborough, in Leicestershire.*

In January 1772, the letters which Mr. Jebb had written in the course of the winter, in the Whitehall evening-post, under the signature of "Paulinus," were collected, revised, and re-published together, in a pamphlet, at the instance of some particular friends.† They were much read and circulated; and were generally understood to render essential service to the cause of the petitioning clergy,

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previously

* See "Three sermons preached before the university of Cambridge, occasioned by an attempt to abolish subscription to the thirty-nine articles of religion," printed 1772. Also, "A letter to Dr. Hallifax, upon the subject of his three discourses, &c. second edition, printed the same year.—It seems to have been mutually agreed, between the preacher and the letter-writer, though with very unequal success, "not to render an enemy considerable by opposition, whose malice may most effectually be disarmed by contempt." (See Dr. Hallifax's preface to the third edition of his sermons, p. xi.) Mr. Blackall, it is presumed, took the advice given by Dr. Hallifax, and dropt his correspondence.

† See this volume, p. 137—222.

previously to the introduction of their petition into the house of commons. Notwithstanding which, it is apprehended, that the author's sentiments concerning the reformation of the established church, underwent some further considerable changes in the subsequent part of his life.

The fourth general meeting of the clerical petitioners was held the 23d of January, 1772, when the former committee, (with the addition of several other persons,) were "appointed to carry the petition into the house of commons, as early as possible that session of parliament." And the petition was accordingly presented on the 6th of February, by sir William Meredith, and his motion thereon was seconded by Mr. Thomas Pitt, now lord Camelford.

Thus much is observed, only to shew the personal concern and share, Mr. Jebb took in the whole of that business, without any intention of entering into a detail of the proceedings of the association.

How intirely he was fixed in the true protestant principle, and how consistent his ideas were in that matter, may be seen by

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an extract from a letter to a greatly esteemed character, dated July 18, 1772.

“ You mention,” says he, “ a subscription to the sixth article; or subscription to the question in the ordination office; or, if that would not do, to the apostles’ creed, as substitutes in the place of the present. The two first are, indeed, very different from the last. I will freely give you again my sentiments upon the subject, and hope for your usual candour in perusing them. When I see the little effect which the best principles and modes of faith have upon the practice, I am sometimes, in a desponding hour, inclined to think, that a successful contest for the prevalence of any one set of opinions, is scarcely worthy of the pains and trouble, that are often taken about them. And, that it would be better for each, to act his part, in the little sphere of domestic duties, which heaven hath assigned him, than to perplex himself and others with unedifying disputes. But, on the contrary, when I think that we are imperfect judges of the operation of principles, and that the almighty hath thought

proper, in reality, so far to interfere in the cause of truth, as to give a revelation to mankind ; it certainly must be his will that we preserve this sacred deposit, pure and untainted, from those human mixtures and corruptions, which have obscured the knowledge of God's law, in every other nation under heaven. If the word of God be not bound by explanatory articles of faith and doctrine ; if no emoluments are annexed to particular confessions ; no terrors appended to opinions, that word will prevail and operate in the manner, which, from the circumstances of the revelation, we may collect, would be most agreeable to the intentions of the almighty. It would operate by its native charms, approving themselves to the consciences of each, and diffuse itself, by a manifestation of its effects on the life and conversation of the true believer. All helps and assistances should be discarded, which may have an equivocal effect. In this view of the gospel, human policy should ever be disclaimed. The utmost of man's interference should be, an earnest and constant endeavour

endeavour, to prevent the narrow schemes, and interested projects of this world, from deforming its native purity, and absolute perfection. Under this idea of things, I view our late application; not in the light of a petition for relief to a few individuals, who cannot bring the articles of our church to square with their own private interpretations of scripture; but, as an attempt to restore the genuine splendour of the gospel, by vindicating the right of every individual in these kingdoms, to interpret scripture for himself. Which can never be exercised, while there is any temptation held forth, by the powers of this world, to dissemble or prevaricate in a single instance. For this reason, the apostles' creed is as exceptionable, as our present subscription; nor would I consent to the fabrication of any systematical confession, although I myself was intrusted with the execution. The naked gospel, subscribed as the word of God, is the only subscription I can possibly petition to have substituted in the place of the present. The particular formulary in which

this declaration is made, is a matter of little moment, provided the formulary be clear and express.

“ With respect to our willingness, to acknowledge the lawful authority of bishops, and to assent to the use of the liturgy ; those matters are pretty well taken care of by the oaths of canonical obedience, and the act of uniformity. They are questions, totally distinct from that we are engaged in ; and, as our adversaries know full well, that we have no objections to either of these matters, they will never be mollified by any declarations we can make. But it is advisable, you will say, to gain the good opinion of moderate men. We have not, as yet, offended any moderate men. And those half-friends who, at present, keep aloof, have other reasons for their conduct, which no declarations of our innocency can subdue. It is urged, by many, as a reason for not meddling in our affair, that, were the present articles set aside, as we desire, we should next labour to establish socinian articles in their room. In short, there is no end of
answering

answering objections, or of softening the opposition. Let us keep our grand point, viz. the sufficiency of the scriptures, steadily in view. It is a reasonable and intelligible kind of union, which cannot easily be broken. And while we adhere to it, a difference of opinion may indeed arise as to the time, and mode of our operations; but, we shall ever be a respectable and consistent body of men, who will, at last, appear to have hit upon the shortest and most practicable, as well as most justifiable method, of closing, for ever, all prejudicial dissensions in matters of faith.

“ You see the state of my mind upon this subject: you see I am thoroughly resolved, never to give my assent to any measure, which, in the most distant manner, implies a departure from our original ground. But, at the same time, with respect to the mode of carrying on our attacks against this usurped power of dogmatizing in the church of Christ: whether by the old petition, by a new one, or by bill, as having no settled opinion of my own, or unable to advise, I shall,

shall, with pleasure, fall in with the opinion of the majority of our friends."

The summer of the year 1772, like the preceding one, (from June to October) he passed at Bungay; where he prepared lectures on St. Paul's epistles, and wrote much for the public papers.

Mr. Jebb having fully considered the argument urged by the enemies of the protestant principle, from the supposed necessity of a proper center of union among christians, wrote his sentiments thereon in the public prints, as also in a letter which was published in October 1772, and addressed to sir William Meredith.*

On sunday, the 27th of December 1772, Mr. Jebb preached before the university; and, as the occasion demanded, considered the question concerning subscription, in as full extent as the time and place would admit. The subject was taken from Acts xv. 10. "Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers, nor we, were able

* See p. 223 of this volume, also page 104 and 108, of the third volume.

able to bear?" This sermon is preserved in the present publication, under a persuasion that by so doing, we render an acceptable service to the protestant cause.*

The very next day, monday the 28th of December, he again preached before the same audience; but, having borne his public testimony to the genuine principle of protestantism, he wisely declined to proceed in matters of controversy. He, therefore, delivered a sermon on the spirit of benevolence, which he soon after published; inscribing it to "the ingenuous youths who had honoured with their attendance, his theological lectures." †

This sermon was re-printed, in the year 1780, and again in 1782; and the circulation of it widely extended, in the midst of the agitation of great political questions. To these editions, were prefixed the following advertisement by the editor:

"At a time, when disputes run so high, as to endanger that affection we owe to each other, as children of one common parent, who is the author of all good, it hath frequently

* See vol. ii. p. 107—133. † Ib. p. 1—26.

quently been suggested, by many who wish to promote that universal benevolence, recommended in the following sermon, that re-printing it at this time, might tend to moderate our resentments, and induce us, even in the midst of contending parties, to remember that we are brethren.

“ With a view of curbing the violence of passion, without impairing the vigour of our virtuous efforts for that which we think right; leave hath been obtained of the author to re-publish this discourse: and it is now humbly inscribed to the people of England, Ireland, and America, by their sincere friend and humble servant, the editor.”

During the months of February, March, and April, 1773, Mr. Jebb was particularly employed in attendance on the business of the clergy associated for obtaining relief in the matter of subscription; and, on the questions relating to the establishing annual examinations at Cambridge.

It may be thought by some persons, who have been used to confound academical foundations with monastic institutions, that the disputes in the university may be of no
more

more consequence than the brawls and contentions of monks and friars; but, when they recollected that, in Mr. Jebb's idea, the universities were to be considered in a more important view, as foundations protected by the legislature, and responsible to the public for the discharge of a most sacred trust, the education of the youth destined to occupy the first departments in every profession in the state, can we wonder at his zeal and perseverance in a cause so essential to this great purpose, and so requisite in a place where statesmen, patriots, citizens, are formed?

With this just and enlarged idea of the importance of education, every member of the community is greatly indebted to him for his unparalleled exertions to secure the native virtue, and to improve the useful knowledge of future generations.

The history of his labours and efforts for the reformation of the university of Cambridge, by the establishing of annual examinations, would, of itself, form no inconsiderable work, if given in detail, and would be most worthy of being preserved.

He

He has in part performed this task in his "Remarks" on the subject; but the dispute continued some time, after the publication of the last edition of that tract, and consequently the account falls short of the final issue of this important business.

In the attempt to delineate an epitome of these proceedings, we must take them up from their commencement, in which we cannot but observe the modest and humble offer of his services; and we shall find the conclusion marked with perfect indifference to the loss of that credit, which was due to his plan, exertion, and perseverance, provided the measure was established, which he considered as the salvation of the university, and, in the end, one of the means of saving his country.

It is very possible that some persons may think that there is preserved, in these volumes, a needless repetition of the several schemes of academical reformation. But let it be observed, once for all, that the variety of opinions entertained on the several propositions, and sometimes on the different parts of the same proposition, suggested
many

many variations in the proposals, which were not unimportant; and these were no way to be explained more concisely, and, at the same time, so clearly, as by exhibiting, in its proper place, the specific proposal as tendered to the university.

Dr. Cooke entered on his vice-chancellorship, on November 4th, 1772, and in his speech upon that occasion, “ treated in general of the extent and importance of academical education, and of the care and attention necessary in those who should conduct it, with so much spirit and good sense, as induced Mr. Jebb to hope, that the favourable moment was arrived, for the introduction of his long projected institution*.

In this persuasion, he communicated to the vice-chancellor, on the 21st of that month, his plan of improvement: but, after many fruitless delays, he found him indisposed to combat the difficulties, which might possibly be thrown in the way of such an enterprize.

After a suspension of all measures, on his part, for four months, in deference and
compliment

* See Remarks, &c. in vol. ii. p. 314.

compliment to the vice-chancellor, he resolved to give his plan to the public, and to try its success in the senate. He published his Remarks on the 6th of April, a second edition on the 16th, and a postscript on the 21st of the same month.

On the 8th of May, Mr. Jebb offered his first grace for an annual examination, which was rejected in the caput without any reason being assigned for such rejection. On the 12th of the same month, he offered his second grace, and, immediately, on the same day, a third, and a fourth grace to the same effect; but all of them were rejected. At the offering of the third grace, Dr. Powell, master of St. John's college, and then a member of the caput, was inclined to move a grace to prevent Mr. Jebb from offering any other graces, and even would have undertaken for its success; but, as Mr. Jebb expressed himself in a private letter, dated the next day, "this was such an outrage, that the most furious opposers of my motion declared against it. Yesterday morning, says he, at a meeting of the heads, it was proposed, I should be censured for publicly denying

denying the paramount authority of the head above the senate. Dr. Law stood resolutely my friend, as I have been told by the Queen's men, and I am much obliged to him. The majority of the university were, a week ago, in favour of my scheme; but acts of despotism debase the minds of those who are inthrall'd, and no sooner did many see that the higher powers were against me, than they also revolted, and sought to justify by argument, the illiberal behaviour of their seniors. Several Johnians were for me, though their master was against me so bitterly. Dr. Watson, and many men of Trinity, were strenuously my friends. I insisted that the question was the proper concern of the senate; and that after I had brought it to a general vote, I had no further desire: that whether they accepted or rejected the plan of annual examinations, I would trouble them no more; but that 'till I had got a grace through the caput, I should think it my duty to persevere."

Every opposition was continued to Mr. Jebb. His own account, in a private letter, dated the 22d of June, 1773, will convey some idea of the treatment he experienced.

“ I have been very ill used, says he, by the vice-chancellor, who did every thing, but refuse me an “ imprimatur” to the third edition of my ‘ Remarks:’ but I carried my point, at last, after three days work. Dr. Powell was to be consulted, and I was obliged to strike out some parts, before I was permitted to use my privilege of the university press. I told them, that the heads gave countenance to libels written against me, but I recorded only facts ; and if they were libels, the actors in them were alone accountable. I told them that I would stay at Cambridge all the vacation, rather than fail ; that I would describe their conduct to the public, if they refused me. When you see the gentle manner in which I have spoken of them, you will be amazed at their tyranny. The passages expunged were facts, and not of half that consequence with those which they permitted to stand.”

After this treatment at Cambridge, Mr. Jebb retired to Bungay, the 25th of June, and continued there till October ; where he studied french and italian, and proceeded in a plan of some political or constitutional lectures.

No sooner had Mr. Jebb left Cambridge, than the vice-chancellor proposed a grace, on the 5th of July, which passed the caput, and both houses, without one dissenting voice; and which appointed a committee, consisting of thirty-six members, to deliberate and report their opinion upon the question of examinations. In this state of the business, all promised fair. But, in order to defeat any probable good effect from this measure, the committee were prematurely called together on the 21st of the following October, before the division of the term, and when only twenty-three of their number could be present. The consequences were foreseen, and the measure was expedited accordingly. Fourteen were against, and nine for it. Whereas, had the meeting of the committee been deferred, till after the division of the term, and the absentees had been returned to the university, it was well known that a contrary determination would have taken place.

The summer recess was fruitful in many important events to Mr. Jebb, of a different

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kind;

kind ; and some of these I wish to mention, as nearly as may be, in the order in which they occurred, that my reader may observe his various occupations, and the great consequences which were involved in their issue ; and thereby be better able to contemplate the anxieties of his mind.

In August, 1773, Mr. Jebb first communicated to a few select friends, his intention to resign his preferments in the established church : nor was such resignation delayed, but on account of reasons, which were both disinterested and powerful. His mind, however, at this time, suffered much disquietude, while struggling under the demands of duty, and the obligations of personal attachments, which he had so ingenuously expressed more than a year before this time. “ I own,” says he, (under the signature of Collatinus, to an anonymous correspondent) “ I find the sensations of conjugal and paternal love, opposed to the sense of duty, and, therefore, feel also for myself. If the refuter likes this concession, let him enjoy it ;
but

but he will triumph at the expense of his humanity. *

While under this embarrassment, and some months before he executed his purpose of resigning his preferment, he finally resolved never to read again the public service of the church, although, while he continued in its communion, he occasionally preached in it.

In a letter dated from Bungay, the 19th of October, I find a familiar detail of so singular an incident, that I will cite it, as well for its originality, as to diversify the events of our narrative. Previously observing, by the way, that Dr. Goodall, archdeacon of Suffolk, held his usual visitation of a few parishes in the neighbourhood, and which were under a jurisdiction, stiled, “ the generals,” in Mr. Jebb’s parish-church of Flixton, on September the 25th, this year. This meeting was attended by Dr. Gooch, Messrs. Smith, Ray, Stockdale, Reeve, and Paddon, from among the neighbouring clergy. On this occasion, says Mr. Jebb,

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* See vol. iii. p. 33.

in the foregoing letter, “ the archdeacon appointed prayers to be read in my church ; I appointed myself preacher, and gave a discourse upon subscription. The archdeacon was greatly enraged, although a Wollastonian ; and publicly rebuked me before the clergy at the public house where we met ; much altercation ensued, yet, I trust, I kept my temper. I told him, I had a right to preach every day in the week, if I thought proper ; he was at liberty to retire, if he disliked my doctrine ; he talked of authority, complaining to the diocesan, &c. but, I resolutely told him, I should have used the same language to the bishop, had I met with equal provocation. At last, he thought it best to hold his tongue, and be quiet. Much more was said, but this was the substance. For some days, I expected a summons to Norwich, but have heard no more of it. I acted thus, with a view to call the attention of the Norwich clergy to our cause, and have in part succeeded.”

The subject of Mr. Jebb's discourse was taken from Matthew v. 16. “ Let your light so shine before men, that they may see
your

your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven." The sermon was the same that was preached before the university on the 28th of the preceding March; concerning which I have seen it written, that it "was spoken coolly, though dictated by the heart, but that the passion of the adversary was very visible." At this time, it may well claim the attention of the candid reader; and though it may be barely possible, that it may not meet his approbation, I trust it will not excite his indignation. *

Soon after Mr. Jebb's return to Cambridge for the winter, he published a continuation of the narrative of academical proceedings, &c. with observations upon the conduct of the committee appointed by the senate on the 5th of July; whose labours and designs had been defeated by the vice-chancellor's precipitating their report, and taking the sense of the committee while only twenty-three members of that body, (which consisted of thirty-six) were in the university.

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sity.

* See vol. ii. p. 51—67, and the reference at the conclusion.

sity. The new matter contained in this "Continuation," though separately published, is, in these volumes, placed in a note to the "Remarks," where the subject-matter immediately connects it. *

The state of the university, at this time, and the extent of the boasted uniformity secured by the present system, will appear from two private letters, which stated a short account of two sermons, much noticed at the time, and preached in the university church.

The first of these letters is dated, Cambridge, November the 10th, 1773, wherein he says, "the bishop of Carlisle preached a noble sermon on November the 5th, in which he shewed, that the spirit of popery was not peculiar to popish countries; that spiritual tyranny consisted in imposing other articles, as terms of communion, than what Christ had given; that religious liberty was too valuable a right to be complimented away; and that every effort to oppress conscience should be opposed. In short, no petitioner would have wished him to say more."

But,

* Vol. ii. p. 327—332.

But, in the other letter, of no more distant date than the 23d of the same month, we have an account of the exertions of zeal, and the measure of prudence, shewn, on the part of the defendants, by Mr. Wilgrefs, one of the proctors, who “ preached on Sunday, (on Jude ver. 3,) a most papistical sermon; he shewed that there was an absolute necessity for an uniform profession of faith; and talked of that faith being the true one, which had ubiquity, universality, antiquity on its side, and was confirmed by general councils. He attacked the latitudinarians vehemently, and maintained that the liberty of private opinions rent the church of Christ, and made as many creeds as persons. He shewed us that the trinity was contained in the ‘ bowels’ * of St. Paul’s assertion, ‘ if thou wilt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.’ The young men were offended at him for his behaviour as proctor, and therefore SCRAPED him. When the sermon

was

* This expression is alluded to in the miscellaneous papers, vol. iii. p. 150.

was over, the vice-chancellor, called to the proctors, to take the names of all the gentlemen in one of the galleries. On this, there was a general hiss, and many rushed out before the door could be secured. At length, the bishop of Peterborough, the two proctors, and the vice-chancellor, arrived at the foot of the stair-case. The young men made a push, and broke the door off its hinges, and multitudes escaped. The names of the rest were taken, and a meeting of the heads followed; but, as all were guilty, all escaped unpunished. Such indecency was never seen, and they will have riots upon riots, unless some scheme is thought of to employ the active spirits of young men."

On December the 14th, 1773, Mr. Jebb again called the attention of the university (Dr. Caryl being vice-chancellor) to another grace, which, after some deliberation, passed the caput, and was read the first time in both houses; but was rejected the next day, in the non-regent house. Non-placets 67, placets 38. The design of this grace was to rescind the report of the committee irregularly

gularly convened on the 21st of October, when thirteen of their number were absent. But as such revival of the committee, went to the criminating Dr. Cooke, the late vice-chancellor, success was not to be expected in the then state of influence in the university.

In the opening of the year 1774, Mr. Jebb resumed the business of academical reformation, with a spirit unsubdued by disappointment and ill usage. For, on the 16th of February, he proposed a grace, which passed both houses the next day, constituting another syndicate for the purpose of deliberating on the proper measures of reform to be introduced into the university; but taking care, at the same time, that the concurrence of the majority of the whole number should be necessary to their report, previously to its being offered to the suffrage of the senate. The syndicate (as is usual in such cases) was nominated by himself; and although he was forced to compliance in a few instances, the greater number were men, as he said in a private letter, “ who had integrity,

Integrity, learning, and ability, and were well disposed to the good work.*”

The grace is preserved in a note below.†

In

* Letter to a friend, dated February the 21st, 1774, from whence also, with great pleasure, I make the following extract; “ Mr. Tyrwhitt preached an admirable sermon yesterday, at St. Mary’s, on, ‘ search the scriptures.’ One of the points discussed, was, the departure of christians, in every country, from the practice of Christ and his apostles, with respect to the object of divine worship; and, in the conclusion, he told us, to beware lest we be found the children of those, ‘ whose faith was credulity; their worship, idolatry; and their charity, persecution.’ ”

† Cum plurimis in ore sit literas humaniores, atque ipsa matheseos et philosophiæ naturalis elementa penè inculta jacere, juvenum animis vel socordia torpentibus, vel in quæcunque recondita, quæcunque sublimia, impetu quodam fervido ruentibus;

Placeat vobis, ut Dominus procancellarius, Dr. Cooke, Dr. Plumtre collegii reginalis, Dr. Barnardiston, Dr. Watson, Dr. Hallifax, Dr. Waring, Mr. Beadon, Mr. Collier, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Wilgrefs, Mr. Dealtary, Mr. Longmire, Mr. Joannes Hey, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Gould, Mr. Gardnar, Mr. Paley, Mr. Squire, Mr. Arnald, et Mr. Pearce, sint syndici vestri, qui convocante domino procancellario convenient, collatisque inter se consiliis deliberent et dijudicent, quoniam potissimum modo hisce malis ingravescentibus nobis obviam

In the course of the syndics proceeding in their business, many difficulties were thrown in their way; but they were surmounted by the better disposition to reformation, which pervaded that respectable body. Mr. Jebb's account of their proceedings, in another letter to a friend, dated March the 16th, will not be uninteresting to those, who are acquainted with the university of Cambridge. "The syndicate," says he, "have met twice. The vice-chancellor (Dr. Caryl) gives general satisfaction by his very candid behaviour, and able manner of doing business. The duke of Grafton has recommended it to the syndicate, to take into their consideration, the case of the fellow-commoners and noblemen; they have done so, and, I am informed, have passed some very good resolutions,

obviam sit eundum; et ut eorundem placitum in scripta digestum, majoris partis totius numeri syndicorum nominibus subscriptis, ante diem decimam sextam Aprilis proximè insequentis in senaculo vestro publicetur: ita tamen ut quicquid iis visum fuerit minime statuti vim habeat, nisi postea vestris suffragiis comprobetur.

Leet. 16. }
Concess. 17. } Feb. 1774.

tions, as the materials and ground-work of their plan. They were three hours engaged in business on monday; they meet again to-morrow. You cannot imagine how greatly, certain spirits are alarmed with the disposition there appears, to do something effectual. Dr. Powell, and the Emmanuel men, and Dr. Hallifax, labour to spoil, what the friends of literature and good morals, are meditating to establish. I trust their power to do harm, will be restrained by the general wishes of the university, to provide against those early habits of dissipation, which are formed through the want of proper objects for employment. I endeavour to keep out of sight as much as I can, as I find my presence occasions jealousies, and heart-burnings; and, for every reason, I am desirous that the work may appear to be done by others, as I see that whatever I propose, would be objected to. Indeed, the syndics are, in general, men of that character, that I am persuaded they will determine for the best: I am only afraid, that the clamours of the discontented, may intimidate them. The vice-chancellor appears to be a
 very

very able and resolute man; and will, I hope, receive that honour which is due to him."

In a letter addressed to another person, on the following day, (March 17th, 1774) in addition to a similar account with the foregoing, he added, " Dr. Hallifax talks of proposing an insidious grace, which it is thought will embroil matters. The syndicate resolved, that they had power from the grace, to enter upon the subject the duke recommended, and have nearly completed their work; but he proposed to hazard the whole by offering a grace to confirm their powers, which may possibly be thrown out."

On the 28th of March, 1774, the syndics finally closed, and signed the nineteen resolutions which they had come to, as proper to be submitted to the senate for their approbation, agreeably to their appointment by the grace which passed both houses on the 17th of February. " No words," says my friend, in a letter dated March 30, " can do justice to the vice-chancellor and his associates, i. e. the major part of them: for

Hallifax

Hallifax and Farmer, did all in their power to obstruct and distress their brethren. The vice-chancellor's heart is in the cause. Farmer declares it will be the ruin of the university, and shake the foundations of the constitution both in church and state. We hope some time will be allowed, before the day of voting. Longmire, Lambert, Collier, Hey, Beadon, are strenuous in their support. You cannot imagine the vehemency of Dr. Powell, and Mr. Whisson. Yet, I trust, the cause of literature will triumph. I shall leave to the worthy syndicate the proper method of conducting matters to their completion."

Mr. Jebb was, it seems, too sanguine in his expectations, though he was supported by reason, sound policy, and respectable names. These resolutions were read in convocation, April 1, and voted in the senate, on the 19th of the same month; and, to the real astonishment of both sides, were rejected. But the majority had no great cause to boast in the superiority of their numbers. The resolutions were divided into three different

ferent classes, and voted for, agreeably to that division, in the non-regent house.

For the first six resolutions there were,

Placets 43.—Non-placets 47.

For the seventh and eleventh inclusive,

Placets 41.—Non-placets 48.

For the twelfth and nineteenth inclusive,

Placets 38.—Non-placets 49.*

Mr.

* It is apprehended that the preservation of these resolutions, may, in the contingent events of this country, be of service to literature and morals. They are, therefore, re-printed here, from a copy on a single sheet.

“ The syndics appointed to deliberate upon the grace, which passed the two houses on the 17th of February last, have come to the following resolutions, which they now offer to the senate for their approbation.

1. That such noblemen and fellow-commoners, as shall be admitted on or after the first monday in May 1774, be subjected to public examinations in the senate-house.

2. That such examinations be annually held on the first monday, tuesday, and wednesday in May, from nine o'clock to twelve in the mornings; and from three to six in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday; and that the first examination be in May 1775.

3. That every nobleman and fellow-commoner, at the first examination, which shall be held after his admission,

Mr. Jebb wrote to a particular friend, in reference to the above business, on the 23d of that month, as follows, “ The struggle was

mission, be examined in the latin and greek languages, ancient history, composition, and algebra.

4. That every nobleman and fellow-commoner at the second examination, which shall be held after his admission, be examined in the latin and greek languages, ancient history, composition, the elements of geometry, Locke’s Essay on the human understanding, and natural philosophy.

5. That every nobleman and fellow-commoner at the third examination, which shall be held after his admission, be examined in natural philosophy, natural law, and modern history.

6. That persons changing their order to become fellow-commoners be, in the examinations, classed with such as are of the same standing with themselves by admission.

7. That seven examiners, members of the senate, or bachelors of law or physic, be annually appointed from the several colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity; except that Trinity-hall be added to King’s college, and that the mode of appointing its own examiners be left to each college.

8. That King’s college shall appoint an examiner each of the first two years, and Trinity-hall the third year, and so always. That where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they have the appointment according to seniority of foundation. And that the seven examiners, so appointed, be presented to the
vice-

was vehement, but it was resolved, it seems, that I was to have no share in the establishment of any improvement; and this, I am

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told,

vice-chancellor on or before the 16th day of December every year.

9. That in the first examination in 1775, all the seven examiners examine such noblemen and fellow-commoners as shall then attend to be examined. That in the second examination, four of the seven examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the junior year, and three those of the senior year. That in the third examination, three of the seven examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the junior year, two those of the middle year, and the other two those of the senior year: and so always.

10. That any nobleman or fellow-commoner, having been resident, who shall absent himself from any examination, without sufficient reason, be forthwith expelled from the university. That a reason, certified to the vice-chancellor by the master or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then resident, be deemed sufficient to excuse any one's absence from a whole examination. And, that a reason, approved by the major part of the seven examiners be deemed sufficient to excuse any one's absence from any part of an examination.

11. That the examiners declare which of the noblemen and fellow-commoners appear to be upon the whole the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part of each year, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit, in a writing

told, from persons of consequence here, was one main reason of their rejection. It is probable you soon will hear of another proposal

ing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, and subscribed by two of the examiners for each year, or a majority of the whole seven. That such declaration be published by the vice-chancellor to the senate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof transmitted by him to the chancellor of the university, and sent to each college.

12. That all pensioners and sizars, who have been admitted since the friday next after the commencement in the year 1772, or shall be hereafter admitted, be subjected to one public examination, before they shall be of standing to be examined for the degree of bachelor of arts.

13. That such examination be held on the monday, tuesday, and wednesday next after the second tripos in their junior soph's year. That the first examination be in the year 1775. And that any pensioner or sizar, not coming to reside with those of the year in which he shall be admitted, be examined with those of the year in which he shall come to reside.

14. That such examination be in the latin and greek languages, ancient history, composition, and the elements of geometry, algebra, and logic.

15. That the examination of pensioners and sizars be in the same place, during the same hours of the day, and under the same penalty for absence, with allowance of the same mode of excuse. That the examiners be the same. That they declare which appear to be upon the

posal from a different quarter. I wish reformation, and shall, therefore, not oppose

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any

the whole the best scholars, in the same proportion, and with the like distinction. And that such declaration be published to the senate, and notified to each college, in the same manner, as has been already directed in the case of noblemen and fellow-commoners.

16. That each of the seven examiners receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the university chest. And that every nobleman and fellow-commoner, who shall be admitted after the 30th day of April, in the year 1774, pay at his admission, two guineas; and every pensioner who shall be admitted after the same 30th day of April, pay at his admission, half a guinea, towards replacing in the chest such sums as shall be thence so issued.

17. That the monies so charged at the admissions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and pensioners, be accounted for to the vice-chancellor on the saturdays next before the days of examination by their respective tutors, who shall, at the same times, deliver lists of such of their pupils, as are to be examined; with the dates of their admissions.

18. That beside the seven appointed examiners, any member of the senate be at liberty to examine.

19. That it would be an improvement of the examination for the degree of bachelor of arts, if the moderators were first to determine, which are the twelve best scholars upon the whole in the other subjects of examination, before they proceed to examine in the higher parts of mathematics.

In witness whereof they have hereunto set their hands, this 28th day of March, 1774."

any salutary measure, from mean and selfish motives. I will support regulations, though Hallifax himself propose them; and try to set my adversaries, the example of a more candid spirit." And, to the same effect also, he wrote to another friend on the following day, in which letter he says, "It is now, in a manner, confessed, that the late graces were lost, because Dr. Hallifax and the dean of Ely, (Dr. Thomas,) had objections to the person who moved the question; but that if the measure is again proposed, by persons in authority, the business will be done. I wish too well to the university and to literature, to hurt so important a question by any desire to have the glory of carrying it. Let a motion come from what quarter it will, I will support it, with all my power; and leave to my adversaries the shame of obstructing the establishment of regulations so much wanted, because the agents were not such as they approved. I will only say, that in the list of voters for the graces, you did not see a man who was not, from conviction, with us; and that in the list of the adversaries, more than half, in the main approved, what they

they opposed by their suffrage. I speak not from presumption, we have it from their own confession."

But so little sense of shame had some men, that, I find, from good authority, that certain of the adversaries of annual examinations, talked of perpetuating their victory over learning and morals, by striking a medal, with the inscription "Academia liberata Apr. 19, 1774." "So different," writes our very candid author, "are the views, in which different persons see the same thing. The duke of Grafton has written a letter to the vice-chancellor, which was communicated to the syndicate, in which, he, in the strongest terms, approves their conduct."

In the midst of these engagements, added to his unceasing labours as a lecturer, Mr. Jebb was not inattentive to the protestant question concerning subscription to human forms of religious faith and doctrine, or to any thing which affected the interests of religion and learning. The motion which was made by sir William Meredith, on the 5th of May, 1774, had previously occupied much of Mr. Jebb's attention, as indeed every

movement, either in parliament, or in the university senate, had done.

In the month of June, Mr. Jebb finally left Bungay, and spent the two following ones with his father at Egham.

In the continuation of our account of the successive efforts, towards a reform in the system of education, it must be needless to remark the judgment and wisdom which accompanied the propositions of the syndicate; or the advances these good designs were making towards success; and the open, candid, and deliberate manner, in which Mr. Jebb suggested and brought them forward.

There was published, on a single sheet, by some unknown person, “ a plan for public examinations,” bearing date, April the 25th, 1774. This scheme was written with good temper, and with a good design; being apparently published with a view to point out a middle road, and thereby to meet, in part, the desires and the fears of the friends and enemies of academical reformation. At the same time, the proposer renounced any intention of concerning himself any further in its support; and consigned it

it to the patronage of some of the late syndicate, or to Dr. Gordon, or to Mr. Jebb. As a child disowned by its parents, is seldom fostered by the world, this plan was not taken up by any member of the senate, or brought forward into that state, which would require our concerning ourselves further with it. And, as it was insufficient for the effecting that reform, which the state of discipline, and the ardour of the friends of literature and good morals required, its peaceful interment, may the less be regretted.

Mr. Jebb also again submitted to the university, before his retirement for the summer, another “ plan for public examinations,” dated the 11th of May, 1774. In August he enlarged and printed the same, in a pamphlet, under the title of “ A proposal for the establishment of public examinations, in the university of Cambridge, with occasional remarks.” In this state it is preserved in the present volumes.* It was again re-printed, on a single sheet, October the 18th, for the more immediate use of the members

* See vol. ii. p. 337—370.

members of the university. And having passed the caput on the 27th of that month, the propositions were once more re-printed, with the alterations they had undergone, immediately before they were offered to the caput, and in that state, in which they were submitted to the senate on the next day. This last mentioned paper is preserved here, as well because of the approbation with which it was received by the university, though it failed to be stamped with the authority of a statute, as for the intrinsic importance of the propositions themselves, and the vigour and consistency which prevail through the whole scheme.* The alterations

Cambridge, Oct. 28, 1774.

* A copy of the propositions, which yesterday passed the caput in as many distinct graces, and will this day be submitted, in regular succession, to the suffrages of the senate at three o'clock in the afternoon.

1. A public examination of such noblemen and fellow-commoners, as have been admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, shall be held in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1776, hereafter to be appointed.

2. A public examination of such pensioners and fizaris,
as

tions introduced into this plan, from the resolutions of the last syndicate, chiefly respect

as have been admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, shall be held in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1776, hereafter to be appointed ; saving to King's college its usual privileges.

3. The examinations, proposed in the two foregoing regulations, shall be united, so as to constitute one examination of all the students admitted within the periods therein specified.

4. The examination proposed in the preceding ordinance, shall be held upon the third monday, tuesday, and wednesday, in November 1776, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

5. Each person, attending the examination in 1776, shall be examined in the latin and greek classics, and in the elements of geometry, and algebra.

6. At the close of the examination in 1776, the examiners hereafter to be appointed (or the majority of them) shall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit. Copies also of such declaration shall be sent to each college.

7. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted within the period specified in the first ordinance, shall

be

spect the connecting the examinations with the settled lectures of the tutors.

The

be subjected to one other public examination in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1777, hereafter to be appointed.

8. The second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners admitted as specified in the first ordinance, shall be held upon the fourth monday, tuesday, and wednesday in November 1777, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

9. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as specified in the first ordinance shall, at his second examination, in 1777, be examined in Locke's Essay on the human understanding, natural philosophy, and modern history.

10. At the close of the second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, admitted as before specified, the three examiners hereafter to be appointed, or the majority of them, shall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit: such declaration shall be published by the vice-chancellor to the senate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof transmitted by him to the chancellor of the university, and sent to each college.

11. Persons changing their order to become fellow-commoners, shall, in the examinations, be classed with
such

The loss of these propositions by one vote
in the non-regent house, while there was
known

such as are of the same standing with themselves by admission.

12. Any nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as before specified, and having been resident, who shall absent himself from either of the preceding examinations, without sufficient reason, shall be publicly admonished, or subjected to such other academical censure, short of rustication, as the vice-chancellor and the two proctors, or the vice-chancellor with one proctor, shall think the case deserves. A reason, certified to the vice-chancellor by the master or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then resident, shall be deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from a whole examination. And a reason, approved by the major part of the examiners, hereafter to be appointed, shall be deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from any part of an examination.

13. The sanction, provided for the purpose of securing the attendance of noblemen and fellow-commoners, and the relief admitted under it, shall be extended to the case of pensioners and fizarars, admitted as above, who shall absent themselves from the examination in the year 1776.

14. In all future years after 1776, there shall be a public examination of such noblemen, fellow-commoners, pensioners, and fizarars, as shall then be of equal standing with those intended to be examined in 1776, and the subjects and time shall be the same with those directed

known to be a decided majority in the junior division of the senate, if the grace had been

directed for 1776. There shall also be, in every year subsequent to the year 1777, a public examination of such noblemen and fellow-commoners as shall then be of equal standing with those intended to be examined in 1777, and the subjects and time shall be the same with those directed for 1777. And in both the above examinations, the examiners hereafter to be appointed, shall make the same honorary distinctions as in the years 1776, and 1777, and attendance shall be secured by the same sanctions.

15. Seven examiners, members of the senate, shall be annually appointed from the several colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity: except only that Trinity-hall shall add an examiner every fifth year, and that the mode of appointing its own examiners be left to each college.

16. Where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they shall have the appointment according to seniority of foundation. And the examiners, appointed according to this and the preceding ordinance, shall be presented to the vice-chancellor, on or before the eleventh of June every year.

17. At the first examination, in November 1776, all the examiners shall examine such students as shall then attend. At the examinations in November 1777, the three senior of the examiners shall examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the senior year, the other four or five, the students of the junior year, and so always.

18. Besides

been passed by the senior part of the university, would naturally give spirits to the pursuers

18. Besides the appointed examiners, every member of the senate shall be at liberty to examine.

19. Each of the examiners shall receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the university chest. Every nobleman and fellow-commoner, who shall be admitted after the date of this grace, shall pay at his admission two guineas, and every pensioner half a guinea, towards replacing in the chest such sums as shall be thence so issued. And all persons, already admitted, and subjected to the above-mentioned examinations, shall be charged with the same payments at the close of the present quarter.

20. The monies charged at the admissions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and pensioners, shall be accounted for to the vice-chancellor, on the saturdays next before the days of examination, by their respective tutors, who shall, at the same time, deliver lists of such of their pupils, as are to be examined, with the dates of their admissions.

N. B. The fourth, fifth, and sixth propositions, are purposely so worded, as to suit with the first ordinance, in case the second and third should be rejected."

The following is communicated as an accurate list of the gentlemen who voted (Oct. 28, 1774) in the senate-house of Cambridge, for and against a public examination of all such noblemen and fellow-commoners as should afterwards be admitted in that university.

For the grace; the bishop of Carlisle; the doctors Glynn, Colignon, Symonds, Ewin, Waring, Gordon, Cooke,

purfuers of thefe meafures, and call for the redoubled exertions of thofe gentlemen who oppofed them.

About two days before the laft plan was voted in the fenate, a publication had appeared in the univerfity, entitled, “ A letter to the author of the plan for the eftablifhment of public examinations.” I have no information concerning the author, nor is it material

Cooke, Goddard, Watfon, Gooch ; mafters, Manning, Hodfon, Lambert, Backhoufe, Collier, Tyrwhitt, Wyatt, Hey, Squire, Smith, White, Borlafe, Pemberton, Jebb, Gould, Greaves, Hughes, Tyfon, Wilgreffs, Paley, Law, Nafmith, Colman, Torkington, Bond, Adair, Chamberlayne ; in all thirty-eight.

Againft the grace ; the doctōrs Powell, Ellifton, Smith, Thomas, Wilfon, Brown ; mafters, Lypeatt, Haighton, Harrington, Meredith, Whiffon, Spencer, Howkins, Greene, Prefton, Hilton, Stevens, Chevalier, Craven, Ferris, Pritchett, Hubbard, Farmer, Blackall, Wilcox, Dalton, May, Henson, Story, Arnald, Kerfhaw, Marfh, Turner, Cooke, Norris, Martyn, Yates, Haffel, Jepfon ; in all, thirty-nine.

The above lift includes eleven doctōrs, fix profeffors, and eight public tutors, for the grace ; and fix doctōrs, three profeffors, and fix public tutors againft the grace.

In the white-hood houfe, it was fupposed the numbers would have flood as follows : for the grace twenty-fix, againft it fifteen ; of the latter number nine would have come from St. John’s.

material; the letter is written in a candid manner, but surely unimportant in its matter; it barely suggested the difficulties, in the execution of it, and the danger that might be consequent on any failure in the practice of the proposed plan.

In the following month, there was also published another tract, entitled, “An observation on the design of establishing annual examinations.” This pamphlet, though anonymous, was generally ascribed to Dr. Powell; it was not written in so good a temper as the former; but, in respect to its matter, more deserving of notice.

These little tracts together, occasioned a third, entitled, “A letter to the author of an observation;” upon this, it will be sufficient for me to say, that it was written by a lady; and that it was generally understood, that Dr. Powell, felt as sensibly the pointed arguments of Priscilla’s pen, as another reverend divine had done before him.*

The

* Upon a similar occasion, and in reference to some letters addressed by the same lady, in one of the public papers,

The notification of her victory may, probably, be more readily admitted, upon the judgment of others, than upon my own; and, the citation of their testimony will acquit me of the imputation of a compliment. “The utility of the public examinations,” say the monthly reviewers, “stood uninvalidated by any thing the observer was able to alledge against them. The present writer has, therefore, all the advantage against him, that a good cause can possibly give; and all that we have to do in this case, is to announce the earnest expectation of the public, that this regulation will take place; a regulation in every respect auspicious, not only to the interest and prosperity of the university of Cambridge in particular, but to learning in general.” *

An

papers, to Dr. Hallifax, under the signature of “Priscilla,” it was observed by Mr. Paley, “that the Lord had sold Sifera into the hand of a woman.” See “A defence of the considerations on the propriety of requiring a subscription to articles of faith,” 8vo. 1774, p. 30.

* See Monthly review, vol. lii. p. 459.

An attention to the progress of Mr. Jebb's exertions to promote academical reformation, has drawn me to neglect, in its place, the mention of a transaction in London, in the spring of the year 1774, in which his heart was deeply interested.

Mr. Lindsey had communicated to him, among the first of his friends, his determined resolution of resigning his preferment in the established church, and his earnest wishes of meeting with a society of unitarian christians, to whom his ministrations might be acceptable.

They both agreed, that it was of great consequence, that there should be a church of christians professedly unitarian; which should hold forth the worship of the only true God, the father; the omnipotent parent and creator of the universe; to the exclusion of all other persons and objects of worship. And as soon as a prospect offered of raising a congregation on this plan, it was communicated to Mr. Jebb. No important step was taken, without consulting him; and many useful hints, and much assistance, was received from him, together with his

two most intimate friends, often named in these memoirs, and still resident in the university of Cambridge; especially with regard to such farther improvements as were judged proper to be added to Dr. Clarke's amendments of the liturgy of the established church.

In some letters written at the time, Mr. Jebb expressed the utmost solicitude for its success; and had engaged a particular friend, who happened to be in town, to be present at the first opening of the chapel, that he might learn from him every thing that passed.*

When he afterwards came to reside himself in the metropolis, he was a constant attendant at the chapel in Essex-street; and frequently expressed his happiness and comfort in the opportunity of joining in a service and worship he so much approved.

Mr. Jebb had much approved of Mr.
Lindsey's

* Mr. Lindsey's sermon, preached at the opening of the chapel in Essex-house, Essex-street, London, on Sunday, April 17th, 1774, was soon afterwards published. And a third edition of "the Book of common-prayer reformed," was published so lately as 1785.

Lindley's publishing his "Apology on resigning the vicarage of Catterick, Yorkshire;" which was followed by a supplemental work, entitled "The Sequel," in which the author treated more largely concerning the nature and person of Christ. To report Mr. Jebb's favourable opinion of the criticisms and arguments in the sequel, from the evidence of private letters, is needless; as the account given of this learned work in the Monthly review came from his pen; * and probably was the only communication of the kind he ever transmitted to that periodical publication.

In the conclusion of this year, I find some strong evidences of the interest Mr. Jebb took in the establishment of liberty on the other side of the atlantic, and in the sufferings of the americans. In a letter to a friend, dated the 21st of November, 1774, he writes, "Your information, in every respect, is pleasing to me; I rejoice that you keep on in your great purpose, with so much steadfastness and success; and that the ame-

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ricans

* See Monthly review, vol. lv. p. 195 and 264, and lvi. 14.

ricans continue to proceed with so much bravery and prudence. I shall not be quite easy about them, till I see the event of the congress. A very sensible letter, in the Ledger of yesterday, shews the absurdity of petitioning for redress; the most vigorous measures are the best; the english ministry must feel, before they will repent. The length of time, in case of a petition, will give them an opportunity of trying their usual arts of conquering by division. The new essay, by the Pensylvanian farmer,* is most admirable; but I wish to have the americans go the whole ground at once; which they may do, and yet leave matters open for an accommodation. The only way to avoid bloodshed, is for the americans to shew their resolution in the first instance. An immediate suspension of trade with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, would procure them redress, as it would effect an immediate petition from the british merchants, &c. more likely to prevail than any petition of their own." And, again, in another letter, to the same friend, dated the 3d of December following,

* This tract was written by John Dickinson, esq.

following, he says, “ I had indulged great hopes that administration would have relaxed, and thereby have prevented that confusion which every man must lament, if he has any sensibility remaining. I did not think that despotism was so much a thing resolved on. I hope the americans, by a temperate, manly, yet peaceful resistance, and the use of legal means, as opposed to force, will prevent that inhuman destruction of our fellow-creatures, which is threatened. Locke has shewn me who are the real rebels, in a contest of this kind; they are those, who, by unjust oppression, renew that state of war, which laws and society had banished.”

Nor was Mr. Jebb's attention less awake to the designs of certain persons in this country, towards forwarding the exclusive establishment of episcopacy in America, than to the danger of their civil liberties, “ I find,” says he, in another letter, dated the 11th of December, “ from a correspondent in Virginia, that Dr. Chandler, of New-York, has published there a virulent invective, against the “ Critical commentary

upon Secker's letter," and that it does harm to the cause of christian liberty. Dr. Chandler has subjoined bishop Sherlock's memorial, presented to the king in council, in February 1749-50, in favour of an american episcopate, now first printed, he says, from an original in the hands of a great living prelate. Such is the infatuation, that many of the colonists, enemies to taxation, are for a bishop. Such has been the consequence of Secker's unremitting efforts, to spread church-of-Englandism, on the other side of the atlantic. Sherlock's memorial, is an artful performance, and big with mischief.*

The year 1775, afforded a continuation of his labours, in the recommendation of annual examinations; and completed the design, which he had long contemplated with anxious solicitude, of relinquishing his preferment

* The "Critical commentary on archbishop Secker's letter, to the right honourable Horatio Walpole, concerning bishops in America," was published in London, 1770. The reply was entitled, "A free examination of the Critical commentary," &c. by Thomas B. Chandler, D.D. and published at New-York, 1774.

ferment and situation in the established church.

In the spring, Mr. Jebb printed, on a single sheet, "An address to the members of the senate," dated March the 22d, 1775, wherein, after stating certain postulata, he proposed to offer a grace to the following effect, as the most becoming method which an individual, so peculiarly circumstanced as he was, could pursue.

"That a syndicate, consisting of the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses, be commissioned to draw up a form of application to the chancellor, in which he shall be requested to acquaint us with the sentiments of the friends of the university, concerning the expediency of introducing improvements into our literary course; and, in case such expediency should appear manifest, that he would further condescend to trace out the line of conduct, whereby we may be enabled most effectually to answer the expectation of the public, and, at the same time, to assure his grace of the disposition of the academical senate, to assist by their counsel in completing, and by their suffrages

suffrages in establishing, any plan, the general outlines of which shall come recommended to us by such respectable advice."

This measure, however, was suspended, for the reasons expressed in a subsequent short address, dated the 29th of the same month: of which, as an historical document, we have preserved a copy. " Mr. Jebb has endeavoured to collect the general sentiment, respecting the measure, suggested at the close of his address to the members of the senate, dated the 22d of this month. He perceives that the majority do not approve of the proposal. It appears to be the opinion of the gentlemen he has conversed with, that the chancellor has expressed his sentiments with sufficient precision, in his letter to the vice-chancellor, and to the syndicate, appointed by grace of the senate, upon the 17th of February, 1774. It has also been suggested, by many of the resident friends to the institution of public examinations, that, if the motion for their establishment was deferred 'till the ensuing winter, it would be more likely, than at present, to meet with a general concurrence.

He

He submits himself, in both these respects, implicitly to their judgment. He does not retract the assertions and conclusions advanced in the propositions; he imagines he has perceived additional reasons to believe, that they are founded upon fact. In the intervening time, he will, with all thankfulness, attend to any hints that shall be suggested, relating to this subject; to objections he will reply, in the spirit of candour; and will endeavour to demonstrate the utility of the institution in question, in a further address to the university and the public."

The question of public examinations being thus disposed of for the present, in deference to the judgment of others, we will divert our narrative into another channel, until Mr. Jebb resumed it, according to his promise, and the expectations of his friends, in the following winter.

In the course of the summer this year, Mr. Jebb's thoughts were much turned towards the war in America, the event of which he supposed

supposed must be decisive of the liberties of both countries.

In a private letter to a friend, (dated the 4th of June), he says, “ I have sent to the bishop of ——— the pamphlet of Mr. Maseres, on the Quebec-bill; at my instance, he read it, and is convinced; and speaks almost as strongly as I do, which is saying a good deal, for you know I am not given to what is improperly called, moderation, upon such subjects.”

Again, in a letter to Dr. Chambers, (dated from Newark, July 16, 1775, when on his journey into the north,) he says, “ As to american affairs, I now begin to despair of an accommodation; that country however will be free, and this must go backwards, perhaps to its original state of barbarity.* There remains, consequently,
some

* The instability of all human institutions, is as apparent in the fate of the roman empire, as in the roman villa. Dr. Middleton, speaking of Cicero's house at Arpinum, the place of his birth, says, that Atticus was charmed with it. “ But there cannot be a better proof, adds he, of the delightfulness of the place, than that it is now possessed by a convent of monks, and
called

some consolation. Matters are not so bad as if America was enslaved, as the bishop of St. Asaph

called ‘ the villa of St. Dominic.’ Strange revolution ! to see Cicero’s porticos converted to monkish cloisters ! the seat of the most refined reason, wit, and learning, to a nursery of superstition, bigotry, and enthusiasm. What a pleasure must it give to these dominican inquisitors, to trample on the ruins of a man, whose writings, by spreading the light of reason and liberty through the world, have been one great instrument of obstructing their unwearied pains to enslave it.” —Middleton’s *Life of Cicero*. 5th edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 5.

Another villa of the same illustrious roman, at Puteoli, which was built after the plan of the academy at Athens, and called by that name, being adorned with a portico and a grove, for the same use of philosophical conferences. “ This villa, says Middleton, was afterwards an imperial palace ; possessed by emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it ; where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his ‘ little, pallid, frightened, fluttering soul.’ Which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero’s habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness.” (Middleton’s *Life of Cicero*, vol. iii. p. 207, note.) Nor is the fate of this villa much different from that at Arpinum. “ It is now,” says the late Mr. Hollis, “ possessed by a convent of franciscan friars.” —*Memoirs of Tho. Hollis, esq.* vol. i. p. 43—45 ; where the fact is cited ; and where the heretical charity
of

St. Asaph says. Liberty has an asylum on that continent. The abominable slave trade will,

of Middleton, is supported by the authorities of Erasmus and Luther.

Again. Dr. Middleton having quoted some jocular and contemptuous expressions concerning Britain, in Cicero's letters to Atticus ; such as, that " there was not a grain of silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves ; of whom you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in music or letters ;" proceeds to make this fine reflection : " From their railleries of this kind, on the barbarity and misery of our island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of kingdoms : how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty ; enslaved to the most cruel as well as most contemptible of tyrants, superstition, and religious imposture : while this remote country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters ; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life ; yet running perhaps the same course, which Rome itself had run before it ; from virtuous industry to wealth ; from wealth to luxury ; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals ; till, by a total degeneracy, and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism." (Middleton's Life of Cicero, vol. iii. p. 102 and 103. Whereupon the author of the Hollisian Memoirs observes, " might not the biographer have added, ' the plague is begun.' " (Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, esq. vol. i. p. 54.)

will, I trust, be abolished; and the remembrance of what was suffered in this century,
in

In addition to these admirable reflections of Dr. Middleton, let us notice how far the derisions cast upon Britain by Cicero in his letters to Atticus, are counterbalanced in the just remarks upon the fallen state of roman greatness, by another of our own countrymen, and one of our contemporaries. “ The rise and fall of empire,” says Mr. Kent, “ may be ranked amongst those events which, although common, do not cease to be remarkable. Inspiration only could have discovered, that the primitive Romans, a vile and abject people, were destined to clear the path, which conducted their future race to the sovereignty of the world. If, in the days of Julius Cæsar, a roman augur had pretended, that his birds informed him, that the distant descendants of the dictator, and his invincible countrymen, should be emasculated, and sing upon a stage, before the posterity of the conquered Britons, instead of being revered as a prophet, he would have been stoned, as a madman. Yet, this, and stranger things than this have happened. To what fate England, the envy, and admiration of every kingdom upon earth, may be reserved, it is impossible to determine. A picture of England, sunk into what Rome is at present, blended with the representation of an american colony, superior in power and splendour, to her unnatural mother, can, in this age, only be ideal; but the future reality is, to the full as probable, as was the destruction of Rome, by the barbarians, in the boasted reign of Augustus.” (See Mr. Kent’s translation of the Marq. de Chateaux’s Essay on public happiness, vol. i. p. 265, in the note by the translator.)

in support of liberty, will prevent the posterity of the present defenders of it, from losing it so quickly, as I fear we shall do. The americans, I am sensible, have much to learn with respect to religious liberty. We have been, I trust, of service in this particular; we have brought forth the principles of their and our adversaries into full view, and have exhibited the form of true protestantism, which they may improve by, if they please."*

* The liberal ideas which have been entertained in America respecting religious liberty, will appear from an "Address delivered by the rev. Mr. Barnard of Salem, at the ordination of Mr. M'Keen, at Beuerley in New-England, on May 11th, 1785; called, "The right hand of fellowship."

"Different schemes," says this gentleman, "respecting the constitution and comparative rank of christian churches, have been illustrated with ingenuity, and defended with respectable reasonings. Still, our communion is of opinion, that, no particular church has sovereignty over other churches; that, they are equally independent of each other, till united by voluntary compact: we have ever, therefore, declined union with the state, the only source of church dominion; and have claimed of the magistrate this privilege only, that we should not be molested for our formulas of faith, or particular modes of worship, while we behave with the peaceableness and fidelity of good subjects.

Mr. Jebb being at Harrowgate this summer, he visited, from thence, Mr. archdeacon

“ In support of our opinion, we urge our Lord’s many declarations, which disclaim every idea of union with states: and the right hand of fellowship practised by his apostles, which expresses full equality between the ministers of his religion and the societies with which they are connected.

“ However, waving these pleas, which have often been considered with minute attention, and urged with the authority of reason and revelation; we will place in near prospect before our minds, human nature, and the series of events since lofty views of precedency arose in the christian church, and inquire—whether equality or inequality, between churches, represents the christian religion in the justest and most amiable light, and most promotes the tranquility and happiness of the great company of professors?

“ Equality, not only pleases the mind of man and gratifies his feelings, but suspends the exercise of those malignant passions, which torment him whenever indulged, and urge him to revenge and injury upon every object which excites them: its divine influence, upon religious parties, has been abundantly approved by experiment: in those countries where universal toleration is enjoyed, without invidious distinctions, the various sects live together like brethren, and exhibit, in their conduct towards each other, the fairest examples of moderation and good will.

“ Inequality, has a very different operation, and introduces

con Blackburne, at Richmond, and spent the day with him on the 26th of July ; a day

duces a very different scene. The moment a particular church is exalted above those around her, she is actuated by the spirit of power, whose governing object is universal dominion ; and is chagrined and miserable, if every tongue does not confess, and every knee bow to her authority. How does she endeavour to accomplish her favourite purposes, amidst that variety of sentiment, which will ever prevail amongst men, upon subjects of magnitude ? She inspires into all her children contempt of those who resist her claims ; attaches to them all civil distinctions, to render the opposition of her enemies inefficacious ; or, strengthened with the arm of the magistrate, she condemns them in most opprobrious terms, and by cruel measures silences or exterminates them.

“ Perhaps, in all history, we cannot produce an example, of a sovereign church, yielding up her fanciful ideas of uniformity, and establishing the mild doctrines of equality and toleration, till obliged, by the superior number of those who deny her jurisdiction, and the influence of enlightened statesmen ! Perhaps, to inequality, as the ultimate source, we may attribute those bitter calumnies, enraged parties, and bloody persecutions, which have dishonoured the christian name in every age since its rise !

“ People highly favoured of the Lord ! Ye only see the period, which the wisest and best men in every age of christianity have wished to see, but have been denied the privilege ! Ye only see this interesting sentence a fundamental maxim of your civil government, “ no
subordination

day which seemed memorable to him from the satisfaction and delight he repeatedly

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expressed

subordination of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law !”* Ye only enjoy the distinguishing felicity of thinking for yourselves and expressing your sentiments, unawed by penal statutes, operating to the loss of civil privileges fortunes and lives ! †

“ With a firm persuasion in our minds of the equality of all christian ministers and churches, I am directed by the counsel convened on this solemn and cheerful occasion, to give you, my brother, this right hand: a sacred pledge, that we speak the sentiments of our hearts, when we declare, that we esteem you of the same rank with any of the ministers of Jesus Christ; and the church over which you have been instituted pastor, of the same rank with any other christian church: a sacred promise, that we will esteem you highly, while you act consistently with the character of a christian minister, and will do you every faithful and generous office. May God almighty bless you, my brother; send out his light and his truth; and guide you in the path of wise improvement, strict fidelity, illustrious virtue, and extensive usefulness; and, at the resurrection of the just, distinguish you with “ a crown of glory which shall never fade away” !

“ Behold, how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity ! Just on the borders of dissention, we rejoice to see you this day, my brethren
of

* Bill of rights, iii. art.

† Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet. Tacit. lib. 1. c. 1.

expressed at the interview with one he so highly esteemed, honoured, and revered. “ I have

of this church, on the secure ground of union and love. May peace continue to dwell within your walls, and prosperity make glad your houses ! May the father of lights, from whom descendeth every good and perfect gift, clothe your pastor with salvation, that, by his ministration, the vicious may be continually reformed, and saints built up in faith and holiness unto eternal life ! ”

Nor can the protestant spirit of the preceding paper be better supported and confirmed than by transcribing,

“ An act for establishing religious freedom, passed in the assembly of Virginia, in the beginning of the year, 1786.

“ Well aware, that almighty God hath created the mind free ; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being lord of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either ; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical (who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinion and mode of thinking as alone true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others,) hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time ; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions

have, however, been at Richmond," says he,
(in a letter written from Harrowgate, Au-

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opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing a man to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitted labours for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependance on our religious opinions, more than on our opinions in physic or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right, and tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments, those who will externally conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay them in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all

gust the 4th,) “ and was much gratified by my visit, though I had not time to say
a thou-

all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others, only as they shall agree with, or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interpose when principles break out in overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself; is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error; and can have nothing to fear from the conflict, unless, by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; error ceasing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

“ Be it, therefore, enacted by the general assembly, that no man shall be compelled to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be forced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

“ And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are natural

a thousandth part of what I wanted to say ; but I was happy in our conversation, and pleased to find that I stood high in the arch-deacon's estimation, which I look upon as one of the most honourable testimonies I could receive. It was with difficulty I could reach Richmond, but I would have gone an hundred miles rather than have failed in seeing Mr. Blackburne. The country is delightful about Richmond ; and nothing can exceed our friend's situation."

Mr. Jebb returned to Cambridge by the way of Leicestershire, spending some time with lord Harborough, at Stapelford. From thence he wrote his letter to Dr. Yonge, bishop of Norwich, to signify his intention to resign his preferment ; which letter was afterwards published in his " Short state of reasons."* In the prosecution of his journey he made his resignation of the rectory of Homersfield, and vicarage of Flixton,

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tural rights of mankind ; and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural rights."

* See vol. ii. p. 219—224.

both in Suffolk, and in the diocese of Norwich, before a notary public, Mr. H. Watson of Huntingdon, on the 29th of September, 1775, and the vacancy was declared at Norwich, the 9th of the following month.

Mr. Jebb had previously acquainted some of his particular friends, with his determined purpose, and wrote to them in the progress of its accomplishment. "I have written," says he, (in a letter dated September the 26th, 1775) "to my patron, and to the bishop of Norwich. My situation, I thank God, and a good friend, will not be distressing, though it will be precarious, as I act, I am afraid, in opposition to the inclination of those who, I have reason to think, have it in their power to serve me. But no more of this. I am easy in the thoughts of being delivered from what I esteem worse than egyptian bondage."

Among the answers he received, I find one, which I shall in part recite, though I forbear to mention the name of the writer. It is dated October the 15th. "I am greatly obliged to you, said his friend, for
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the early intelligence of your resignation, and also for the account of the formalities being passed with the bishop. As a step which was necessary for the ease of your own mind, I greatly commend you, and from my soul regret the necessity which you found for your secession. Your letter to the bishop is admirable; you have assigned the reason for your resignation, and defended your like-minded brethren in the principle of the petition, in a language and spirit, worthy of yourself. You have declared your conviction of the truth, and consequent belief of christianity, in unequivocal terms; and, in the genuine spirit of a christian and a protestant, have engaged for your future zeal for the gospel, without regard to any other annexed consideration. Indeed I am greatly pleased with your letter: I intirely approve it, and was much gratified with the sight of it. And I pray God to bless you in all your future labours, and that he will shower down a full portion of his blessings on him, who is so zealous in the service of his master."

In a letter to the late worthy and excellent

lent Dr. Chambers, rector of Achurch, in Northamptonshire, dated the 21st of October, 1775, he is more explicit, than in his before-cited letter to one, who was happy in being the common friend of both, “ I am truly sensible,” says he, “ that many persons who hold similar opinions to mine, can continue in the church with great advantage to the cause of christianity; acting at the same time in perfect conformity to conscience, and deserving the character of good and worthy men. My resignation intirely proceeded from the uneasiness, I felt in reading the service; an uneasiness, which I am sensible was the result of circumstances peculiar to myself. I have, for seven years past, in my lectures, (though, at the same time, always declaring to my pupils, that my opinion was contrary to the received notions,) maintained steadily the proper unity of God; and that he alone should be the object of religious worship. I thought it my duty to urge all, who attended me, to inquire, but, by no means, to make up their judgment, till they had read all the scriptures, with critical attention. I wished them to suspend their judgment, till they had heard
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the evidence on both sides of the question: At the same time, openly professing to them, that my own opinion was settled on this subject. After these explicit declarations, to officiate in a liturgy which is formed upon the athanasian system, struck me as a singular impropriety of conduct; and as an inconsistency of behaviour, not to be defended. The sense of this, greatly affected me; insomuch, that for two years past, I have declined all discharge of duty. But then, to turn my livings into a lay estate, appeared highly dishonourable; you may guess my feelings; my health was sensibly affected; at last, it became a point of necessity for me to resign. You, therefore, may be satisfied, that I claim no merit from this sacrifice. I only sought relief from my anxiety; and, I thank God, I have found it; this step having perfectly restored my wonted tranquility of mind.

“ With respect to my future course of life, in which you so kindly interest yourself, I have planned one, of such a kind, as, I think, will best enable me to discharge, with self complacency, the peculiar duties
which

which I apprehend myself indispensibly called upon to perform. As a scheme, subordinate to this, I propose to proceed in taking pupils at Cambridge or at London, as shall seem most likely to be productive of success. And herein I shall be obliged by your, and Mr. ———'s kind offices, if opportunity shall be afforded of exerting them. This employment, with the assistance of a nameless friend, will, I trust, prevent my circumstances from being distressing. Precarious they must unavoidably be, but I do not repine at the condition of my lot. If other plans should be proposed by friends, which tend to accelerate the completion of what I chiefly aim at, I shall think it a matter of duty to embrace them."

In a letter to another friend, dated a few days after the foregoing, (October 26th, 1775) he has some further observations on his then present situation. " I look upon advice," says he, " as one of the most valuable adjuncts to friendly intercourse; and, therefore, am much obliged by your hints respecting my future conduct, and hope you will repeat them whenever occasion shall appear.

pear. The reasons of my resignation, I find, are now pretty generally known. I will endeavour always to act so as will evidence a fervent affection to the gospel, and zeal for the cause of civil and religious liberty. I am sensible, that as I have expressed myself fully with regard to the tories, I shall feel their vengeance. This place swarms with them; and on the fifth of November, when the new vice-chancellor preaches, I suppose we shall have some hint of their intentions. If you look into the fifth volume of bishop Sherlock's sermons, just published, you will see the true adversary of Hoadly in the first of them, but he did not live in worse times than these. I am not offended with the tories, they act according to their nature; the prostitute whigs offend me more, and the slumbering whigs most of all."

Mr. Jebb adopted, in his own case, that conduct which he had strongly approved in Mr. Lindsey. And accordingly, published, in the month of November, "A short state of the reasons for his late resignation. To which are added, occasional observations, and a letter to the right rev. the bishop of
Norwich."

Norwich." Three editions of these sheets were printed in the course of six weeks ; but as they form a very valuable part of the present work, the reader will judge of them for himself : needing only to be told of the notice taken of them, by the adversary, to whose writings he is also referred, if he be disposed to pursue the inquiry.

Mr. Jebb still remained at Cambridge, and probably would have continued to have done so, had not his opponents carried their resentments to the cutting off the sources of his support there. The few months he stayed in the university, were, however, employed in her service in forwarding the great question of annual examinations ; but his having relinquished his situation in the established church tended greatly, as it should seem, to defeat its success.

About the latter end of December, he reprinted, with alterations, " An address to the members of the senate," * followed by the same propositions he had before presented,

* It was first printed, as before stated, (p. 89,) the 22d of March 1775, but for this corrected copy, see vol. ii. p. 371—390.

sented, and which had been lost by one voice in the black-hood house, on the 28th of October, 1774.

This address was printed, like the former ones, for the deliberate and dispassionate consideration of that body, who were to determine upon the expediency of the proposal, in whole, or in part. And when the seasonable opportunity seemed to be arrived for the final re-submission of the scheme, to the wisdom of the senate, the following notice was printed and circulated in the university, dated Cambridge, February the 21st, 1776.

“ The vice-chancellor having intimated, that a congregation will be held upon monday the 26th instant in the afternoon; and that if any grace, which requires a second congregation, should then pass the caput, such congregation will be held on the afternoon of the subsequent day: Mr. Jebb declares his intention of proposing the following graces to the caput on the first of those days.

1. “ Cum nobis vitio vertatur, permagnam juventutis academicæ partem ad edenda progressûs sui in bonis literis testimonia nunquam vocari;

. “ Placeat

“ Placeat vobis, ut omnes nobiles, nobilium filii, & socio-commensales, post diem quintum Julii in anno corrente admissi, examinationi vel examinationibus, tempore atque modo à vobis statuendis, subjiciantur.

2. “ Cum reipublicæ nostræ plurimum interesse videatur, ut unam vel alteram examinationem juvenes subeant academici, priusquam in scholis publicis versentur;

“ Placeat vobis, ut omnes pensionarii et fizatores, post diem quintum Julii in anno corrente admissi, ejusmodi examinationi vel examinationibus, tempore atque modo à vobis statuendis, subjiciantur.

“ If both, or either of the preceding graces, should be approved by the suffrages of the senate upon their second reading on tuesday afternoon, Mr. Jebb will propose the plan contained in his last printed address, unless he shall be assured, that a plan will be proposed by any other member of the senate, within a reasonable time.”

Cambridge, Feb. 21, 1776.

Upon this occasion, he wrote to a friend the next day, in a manner which sufficiently proves, if proof were wanting, that he
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acted from a sense of honour and duty ; and that he had formed a pretty accurate judgment of the return he should meet with. “ I have had great vexation,” says he, “ and expect more ; but every principle requires me to go on with this business. I must make this last trial, though the adversary hopes to bring me to great shame, and has managed the congregations accordingly ; and our friends, who are a clear majority, will probably desert me ; but I shall retire from the question with an easy mind, whatever be the event : ‘ liberavi animam meam.’”

“ When I first applied for a congregation, the vice-chancellor intimated I could present no graces, having lost my vote by the following statute ;

“ De oppugnatoribus ecclesiæ anglicanæ, 1603.

“ Placeat vobis, ut quicumque doctrinam vel disciplinam ecclesiæ anglicanæ, vel ejus partem aliquam legibus publicis stabilitam, scriptis, vel dictis, vel quocunque modo in academiâ Cantabrigiæ oppugnaverit, ab omni gradu suscipiendo excludatur, et a suscepto suspendatur ipso facto.”

On the 26th of February, the two graces (printed in the last-mentioned circular paper of the 21st instant) passed the caput; but were rejected by the non-regent house, in the afternoon of the following day.

From a letter written to a friend in the morning of that day, it further appears, that Mr. Jebb seems to have been well acquainted with the probable issue of the approaching trial; but as it goes also to the accounting for it, which is a more material circumstance, it is more particularly deserving our notice. “ The graces will be lost this afternoon, although there is a considerable majority of resident members in their favour. The bishops, it is said, at the remonstrance of Hurd, have turned round; and the dastardly friends are running out of the university as if from a plague. They give every reason but the true one, which seems to be the fear of being caught in my company. I have written fully my sentiments to the duke of Grafton: and, in tolerably tough language, ascribed the event to the true cause. I yesterday presented the graces to the caput, the vice-chancellor made no objection at the time of presentment; he behaved

behaved like a tory, and I gave him a dressing, and publicly charged him with his intolerant declaration about my degree : which many have affected not to believe. One of the caput asked me, whether I did or did not put the paragraph and the paper into the St. James's chronicle, (which another's friendship inserted.) I replied, that the caput was not met upon such questions ; that he had no right to ask it, and I would not answer it. We had many altercations. I was pretty well fatigued, and am glad the business is so near to completion. Lambert is very indignant at the unparalleled ill-treatment I have received from the friends of the cause. The bishops were never hearty; they fell in with the language of the public while with us, and when the public began to grow tired, they turned to their natural temper and abhorrence of reformation. After having declared my intention, above a year ago, to bring on this question, and after my new destination, and the vice-chancellor's menace about my degree, it becomes me to bring it on again. The bishop of Carlisle is firm and steady, not afraid of being found in a

minority. Dr. Watſon alſo ſupports us, much to his credit, as does Dr. Plumptre of Queen's."

The ſequel of this buſineſs ſhall be extracted from another letter, dated February the 29th, two days after the expected rejection of the graces. " The biſhops being converted by their brother Hurd," ſays he, " at leaſt twenty of our friends deſerted me on the day of trial, and left me with twenty-five againſt thirty-nine; yet, I repent not; I have teſtified the principles of a proteſtant and a whig, and am confident the ungenerous treatment I have received from our friends, (for of enemies I complain not) will do more injury to the cauſe of orthodoxy, than they are aware of. The vice-chancellor received my graces without an hint about his former menace, which I reminded him of, in the preſence of his brethren, in order to ſhame him. He was too wiſe to preſs his point, though it is unlikely that the infamous ſtatute will be aboliſhed. I have had hints of notice being taken by higher authority; but I diſregard all apprehenſions of this ſort. I have now done all in the
univerſity,

university, that I can do ; greek Testament lectures are stopped for want of attendants, and my friends will not support me in the business of examinations ; though unsuccessful, I am not out of humour with the event.

“ Four heads of houses deserted us, and, together with their dependants, could not be prevailed upon to vote, by any intreaties.”

Thus, by an unprincipled and cowardly defection, the questions relating to academical discipline were, at last, betrayed by their friends, rather than lost by the superior power of their enemies. A reflection, as unfavourable to their future revival with better success, as though they had been outvoted by a large majority of open and determined enemies. What was said to my friend on this occasion, may be repeated here ; and the want of a better account may be lamented, while only these pages are left to recite it. “ The public, I am persuaded,” said a friend, “ would gratefully rejoice in a regular, succinct, and chronological account of your several proposals for annual

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examinations, the proceedings of the syndicate, &c. &c. and if you had leisure to arrange your materials, out of the chaos which you may have before you, such a work would be a valuable legacy at the close of your efforts in behalf of christianity, and literature in Cambridge; and would afford a good opportunity to have a word or two at parting."

Mr. Jebb's secession from the established church afforded a momentary triumph to the enemies of academical reformation at Cambridge, and was made to operate, in a certain degree, to the prejudice of the great question he had repeatedly moved there, in the concluding scene of that business. His "Short state of the reasons for his resignation," was attacked from the university pulpit. One gentleman, in his zeal for ecclesiastical discipline and regimen, expressed an ardent wish to see the convocation revived. There were not wanting others, however, who defended the principles of religious liberty from the same place. The course of a few months produced an anonymous tract, which,

which, from its title, appeared to be directed against his integrity as a man, rather than against his reasons as a christian. 'Till his resignation took place, the common cry in the mouths of certain impatient intolerants was, " why don't you resign your preferments?" And no sooner did he follow his convictions, by relinquishing his situation in the church, to the apparent injury of his temporal interest, than he was addressed in the uncandid language, of " Resignation no proof," which was the leading title of " A letter to Mr. Jebb, with occasional remarks on his spirit of protestantism." *

In respect to the merit of this piece, let it be estimated by different persons, accord-

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* After some short time, this tract had prefixed to it the name of the reverend Edward Tew, M.A. late fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and was announced to have reached " the second edition:" but as every literal error is precisely the same in both, and even the title-page is placed in it by the help of the paste-brush, there is more than presumptive evidence, that the demands of the public were abundantly satisfied with one impression; and, admitting the fact, which, by the bye, is unquestionable, this kind of craft deserves the severe reprehension, befitting a disingenuous imposition upon the public.

ing as each shall see cause of praise or blame, whenever they shall be disposed to read it, To many it appeared trifling, affecting neither the argument of Mr. Jebb's pamphlet, nor the rectitude of his conduct. What its friends may have thought of it, it has not fallen in the way of the writer of these memoirs to hear, although he has many intimate and friendly communications with some greatly-respected characters among those, who think very differently from him on many religious subjects.

But the foregoing gentleman was not the only public correspondent of our author; there was another who considered his resignation as "an indisputable proof of his sincerity;" and was disposed to view that act, its causes, and its consequences, in a very different light from that in which Mr. Tew had placed them. The title at large was, "A letter to the rev. John Jebb, M.A. occasioned by his Short view." However equal the organs of intellectual vision in these two correspondents may be, they looked through such very different mediums, that each placed his object at an irreconcilable distance from
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the other. It might seem an invidious task to apportion their respective measure of agreement with reason, and with scripture.

After various plans in respect to Mr. Jebb's future profession and employment, as the means of an honourable livelihood, he finally settled in the study of physic: but in all the various schemes, which were suggested by himself, or his friends, he considered his future usefulness, and wished only for a moderate competency.

His medical designation was proposed by his relation, Dr. (now sir) Richard Jebb, and determined upon at his instance and recommendation, accompanied by his unlimited promise of professional support. No sooner had this proposal been made and approved, than Mr. Jebb attended Dr. Cognition's anatomical lectures at Cambridge, while yet he continued to give lectures himself in mathematics and natural philosophy, and to give his wonted attention to the interest of the university.

The summer months of this year he spent partly at Cambridge, and partly with his friends

friends in Huntingdonshire and Middlesex. On the third of September he finally left Cambridge, after a residence there, almost uninterrupted, of twenty-two years. When, after all his disappointments, hard-treatment, may I not say, ill-usage, he left it, “ without being at variance with a single person.” He affectionately took leave of every acquaintance in the place, and many parted from him with deep regret, who had never contributed to advance his usefulness or to reward his merit while resident among them.

In the month of September 1776, he came to London, and settled in a house in Craven-street. Here he also gave lectures in the greek Testament, to two young gentlemen, while he proceeded in the study of physic; he added also to his unceasing application, a regular attendance at St. Bartholomew’s hospital as a pupil of Dr. William Pitcairn. “ Hard work, but on the whole not unpleasing,” as he expressed himself in a letter to me at that time. After he was persuaded to direct his application to medicine, he spoke of it, with his usual moderate expectation,

tation, and yet that expectation was sufficient to animate his labours: “ you may probably have heard of my physical destination, a circumstance, says he, which gives me the hope of eating independant bread.”

The beginning of the following month, while yet barely settled in his new situation, and entering on his medical novitiate, occupied in labour and solitude, he fell ill of a violent fever, which he caught from a patient in the hospital; and which confined him to his bed fourteen days.

The mind of Mr. Jebb was never unemployed, even in the busiest scenes of active life; but sickness naturally disposes the best of men to look more accurately into the state of their own temper, and designs. This opportunity was not lost, but improved by Mr. Jebb; and it is in this way that we derive advantage from affliction, and justify the ways of God to man, in that fine observation of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews; “ whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.” Among other resolutions entered into, on this occasion, as I find them

them in a private book, which had been seen by no human eye but his own, the following do so accurately express his usual mind and habits, that I transcribe them, not only because they well correspond with his usual course of life, but may suggest to others, the pleasing and rational consolations of sound religion and good morals.

1. “ Employ the whole of every Sunday in sacred study, in reading Hartley, Taylor, and other books, in which the spirit of piety and morality prevails.

2. “ Pay particular attention to every declaration that bears the slightest appearance of a promise. And let me sacredly attend to every engagement, even of the most trivial kind.

3. “ Let me be sedulously attentive, upon proper occasions, to every person who has shewn me kindness. And omit not the performance of the most trifling circumstance that may give a benefactor pleasure.

4. “ Let me read Hartley on ambition ; and the proper and primary pursuits of man be diligently studied.

5. “ Remember, if it please God that I obtain

obtain a competency by my profession, my great work and duty is, to study critically the scriptures.

6. " Let me never be induced, by the well-meaning expressions of good-will from my friends, to think higher of myself than as a creature who has been exceedingly weak; and as one, to whom God has shewn uncommon instances of mercy. Let not the voice of humility be on my tongue, but the real essence of it in my heart. Read Hartley, and attend to Hoadly's and other forms of prayer, as necessity or opportunity shall suggest.

7. " Strive to acquire christian stoicism, to this purpose read with the scriptures, the works of Antoninus and Epictetus.

8. " Speak the truth. Lie not through fear of man's resentment, nor seek the favour of any by disguising, or softening my sentiments."

About three months after his recovery from this fever, and when he had resumed, and was ardently pursuing his new studies, he expressed his satisfaction, in his engagement and prospects, in a private letter, which

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I remember to have read with the greatest pleasure. “ I am,” said he, “ very happy in my new plan. I receive great civilities, and encouragement from several worthy persons, who may promote my interest hereafter ; and thus I may be enabled to obtain a competency, which will give me the power of my own time, a power I have never yet enjoyed. The cause of christianity is uppermost in my mind, to that and the cause of civil liberty, I hope, while life remains, I shall never be insensible.”

How closely he applied, let a part of another of his own familiar and confidential letters speak. “ Although,” says he, “ I am tardy in my acknowledgments, yet you are not to conclude that either my zeal for the best of causes, or my regard for yourself, is diminished by the avocations of my new profession. While I was free and disengaged from its cares, I was attentive to the rules of strictest punctuality in my correspondences. I trust the affection of my friends is such, that they will not be offended, or think I slight their valuable communications, when I delay my answer to them. The fact
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is, that both principle and necessity oblige me to work very hard, and when the time of relaxation arrives, my spirits require an absolute rest; so that when I have really leisure to write, the ability is denied me: but, that you may see this is not always the case, I write now; and as Sunday is a day, on which I make a point of abstaining from all profane studies, you are to conceive that I shall not be unmindful of what you send me. I say this in order to prevent you from supposing that I never employ myself in my former pursuits."

After an interval of some months, he again wrote; "I am now in my forty-second year, and my preparation for my profession not gone through, and, therefore, am much engaged. Not that I am anxious about my success in it; far otherwise. I have met with so many kindnesses, that my situation has been rendered far easier than I could have hoped, and my utmost views are moderate; but you, who know me, know that I attend to things with some degree of energy while they are before me, and, indeed, I
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should be highly blamable if I did otherwise."

In illustration of this account, it will be sufficient to say that he attended, in the compass of this year, (1777) two courses of Dr. Hunter's anatomical lectures, and the dissections; Mr. Pott's lectures at the hospital; Dr. Fordyce's lectures on chymistry; and Mr. Falkner's physiological lectures; besides studying botany, and attending St. Bartholomew's hospital throughout the year.

On the eighteenth of March, 1777, he received his diploma of doctor of physic, from the university of St. Andrew in Scotland; his medical recommendation having been signed by four gentlemen of the faculty, of the first distinction and eminence in London. And he was admitted licentiate by the college of physicians, on the twenty-fifth of June following.

When Dr. Priestley published his "Doctrine of philosophical necessity," in the autumn 1777, which forms the second volume of his "Disquisitions on matter and spirit,"
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he dedicated it to Dr. Jebb. Nor should I have thought it necessary to have dwelt upon this circumstance, but for the sake of exhibiting the similitude and connection of two great minds, uniformly and mutually acting under the influence of the best principles to be derived from the study of true religion and philosophy. The dedication itself contains much fine reasoning, and holds forth sentiments, peculiarly becoming one distinguished christian philosopher to deliver to another. I will frankly own, that I have read this dedication frequently, but never without delight and improvement. Something may be allowed for my personal esteem and friendship for the parties, but I think a stranger to the character of both, (if such an one there be) will not be insensible to its beauties or effect. Under this persuasion, I have inserted it in a note, * and though it should

* TO JOHN JEBB, M.D.

DEAR SIR,

“ I flatter myself that you will permit me to take this opportunity of perpetuating, as far as I am able, the
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should fail to approve itself alike to all, neither much time will be wasted in the perusal, nor much paper in the printing of it.

Dr.

very high regard that I entertain for a person who has distinguished himself, as you have done, by an attachment to the unadulterated principles of christianity, how unpopular soever they may have become through the prejudices of the weak or the interested part of mankind, and who has made the sacrifice that you have made to the cause of truth and the rights of conscience.

“ I think myself happy in concurring, as I hope, with your ardent zeal for the cause of civil and religious liberty in their full extent; and I am convinced, that to act as you have done, is the proper method that a christian ought to take in order to promote it. It is our business, whenever called upon, to bear our testimony to whatever we apprehend to be truth and right, upon no occasion to swerve from our real principles, (which would be equivalent to denying Christ, or being ashamed of him, and his cause, before men) whether we see that any good will result from what we may suffer by such a profession, or not. We ought to content ourselves with acting under the express orders of one who is the proper judge of what is expedient for his interest and his church, as well as for our happiness; and we may rest assured, that we can only sustain a temporary loss by such an implicit, but reasonable obedience.

“ Could we only, my friend, expand our minds fully to conceive, and act up to, the great principle asserted in this treatise, of the truth of which we are both of us convinced, nothing more would be wanting to enable

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Dr. Jebb, from his universal learning, and
from his philosophical mind, entered on the
K 2 study

us to exert this, and every other effort of true greatness of mind.

“ We ourselves, complex as the structure of our minds, and our principles of action are, are links in a great connected chain, parts of an immense whole, a very little of which only we are as yet permitted to see, but from which we collect evidence enough, that the whole system (in which we are, at the same time, both instruments and objects) is under an unerring direction, and that the final result will be most glorious and happy. Whatever men may intend, or execute, all their designs, and all their actions, are subject to the secret influence and guidance of one who is necessarily the best judge of what will most promote his own excellent purposes. To him, and in his works, all seeming discord is real harmony, and all apparent evil, ultimate good.

“ This world, we see, is an admirable nursery for great minds. Difficulties, opposition, persecution, and evils of every other form, are the necessary instruments by which they are made, and even the captain of our salvation, was himself made perfect through suffering. A mixture of pleasing events does, likewise, contribute to the same end; but of the due proportions in this mixture we are no judges. Considering, however, in whose hands are the several ingredients of the cup of mortal life, we may be assured that it will never be more bitter, than will be necessary, to make it, in the very highest degree, salutary.

“ You and I, sir, rejoice in the belief, that the whole human race are under the same wholesome discipline,
and

study of his profession with singular advantages; but although “he began,” as a truly great

and that they will all certainly derive the most valuable advantages from it, though in different degrees, in different ways, and at different periods; that even the persecutors are only giving the precedence to the persecuted, and advancing them to a much higher degree of perfection and happiness; and that they must themselves, for the same benevolent purpose, undergo a more severe discipline than that which they are the means of administering to others.

“With this persuasion, we cannot but consider every being, and every thing, in a favourable light. Every person with whom we have any connection is a friend, and every event in life is a benefit; while God is equally the father, and the friend, of the whole creation.

“I hope, dear sir, we shall always be careful to strengthen and extend these great and just views of the glorious system to which we belong. It is only by losing sight of these principles that we adopt mean purposes, and become slaves to mean passions, as also that we are subject to be chagrined and unhinged by seemingly cross accidents in life.

“So long as we can practically believe that there is but one will in the whole universe, that this one will, exclusive of all chance, or the interference of any other will, disposes of all things, even to their minutest circumstances, and always for the best of purposes, it is impossible but that we must rejoice in, and be thankful for, all events, without distinction. And when our will and our wishes shall thus perfectly coincide with that of the sovereign disposer of all things, whose will is always

great and excellent man once said, “ where others often left off ;” yet, he was diffident

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and

always done, in earth, as well as in heaven, we shall, in fact, attain the summit of perfection and happiness. We shall have a kind of union with God himself ; his will shall be our will, and even his power our power ; being ever employed to execute our wishes and purposes, as well as his ; because they will be, in all respects, the same with his.

“ These heart-reviving and soul-ennobling views, we cannot, my friend, in this imperfect state, expect to realize and enjoy, except at intervals ; but let us make it our business to make these happy seasons of philosophical and devout contemplation more frequent, and of longer continuance. Let them encroach more and more on the time that we must give to the bustle of a transitory world ; ’till our minds shall have received such a lasting impression, as that its effect may be felt even in the midst of the greatest tumult of life, and inspire a serenity of joy, which the world can neither give nor take away.

“ In these principles alone do we find a perfect coincidence between true religion and philosophy ; and by the help of the latter, we are able to demonstrate the excellence of the moral precepts of the former. And the more we understand of human nature, which is an immense field of speculation, barely opened by our revered master, Dr. Hartley, the more clearly, I doubt not, shall we perceive how admirably is the whole system of revealed religion adapted to the nature and circumstances of man, and the better judges shall we be of that most important

and distrustful, from his native modesty;
and never considered the simply passing
through

important branch of its evidence, which results from considering the effects which the first promulgation of it had on the minds of those to whom it was proposed, both jews and gentiles. Let us then study the scriptures, ecclesiastical history, and the theory of the human mind, in conjunction; being satisfied, that from the nature of the things, they must, in time, throw a great and new light upon each other.

“ Permit me, dear sir, to flatter myself that, as you have followed the great Dr. Hartley in his application to theological, mathematical, and philosophical studies, and also in his profession of the theory and practice of medicine, you will still pursue his footsteps, in applying the elements of all these branches of science to the farther investigation of the phænomena of the human mind, which is a great and ample field, worthy of your superior talents.

“ Hoping to enjoy your communications, and valuable friendship, together with that of our common and most excellent friend, Mr. Lindsey, whose views of these things are the same with ours, and with whom, in principle and object, we cannot be too strictly united, and that, mindful of the apostolical advice, we shall always consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works.

“ I remain, dear sir, your affectionate friend, and fellow-labourer,

J. PRIESTLEY.”

Calne,
Aug. 1, 1777.

through professional forms, as a sufficient qualification for a conscientious undertaking of the duties of any station. In his present situation he wished to complete his two years of probation, agreeably to the advice of Dr. Warren, and Dr. R. Jebb, computing that time from his first designation to the profession of physic. Therefore, though qualified by his graduation and by custom, he suspended the commencement of practice 'till February the fifth, 1778. Nor did he then enter upon so important a business without much reflection, and many well-weighed resolutions.

As I have the opportunity of drawing from the authentic source which has been before mentioned, these unequivocal documents of the humility of his mind and integrity of his heart, I should reluctantly omit to present them to my readers.

“ I have this day,” writes he, in his private book, (January the 11th, 1778) “ completed the probation of two years; and, with God’s blessing, have been upheld to apply myself with assiduity the greatest portion of it. I have acquired so much knowledge as

to perceive in how many points I am defective, and enough, I trust, to lay a foundation for that humility and diffidence in my own abilities, which will never forsake me, at the same time I see sufficient encouragement to go on cheerfully in my profession, (according to Dr. Fothergill's expression) with "faith in physic."

He then proceeds to write down "resolutions respecting his conduct in his profession." From these the following are selected:

1. "To forego every advantage and every prospect of success in my profession, rather than act contrary to the three principles laid down by Dr. Hartley, as the basis of right conduct, viz. piety, benevolence, and the moral sense.

2. "Never to make a difference between the rich and poor, but so far as relates to my efforts to cure, to consider myself in equal manner, the servant of both, being very careful to manifest the same courtesy, mildness of speech, and manners, to every individual I may be called upon to assist.

3. "To

3. “ To guard continually against deflecting from the proper line and duties of my profession through attention to ornamental branches of knowledge; yet, in all points, to act in perfect consistency with my former conduct, not abating in my zeal for the cause of civil or religious liberty; nor sacrificing my principles, even for a moment, through any views of interest, of whatever nature they may be, considering the transitory scene I am engaged in.*

“ Let

* If apologies are necessary for this pure flame of patriotism, which burned bright until the extinction of life, what has already been offered for the poet, will equally apply to every man of a liberal education, and an enlightened mind.

Yet hence barbaric zeal

His memory with unholy rage pursues;

While from these arduous cares of public weal

She bids each bard begone, and rest him with his muse.

O fool! to think the man whose ample mind

Must grasp at all that yonder stars survey;

Must join the noblest forms of ev'ry kind,

The world's most perfect image to display,

Can e'er his country's majesty behold

Unmov'd or cold!

O fool! to deem

That

“ Let not him that putteth on his armour, boast like him that putteth it off.”

There is also added the following resolution, which he constantly observed, as far as came within my own observation. “ Always to make memoranda in the patient’s room, according to the plan suggested by Dr. Heberden, and to keep an orderly book of all cases that may fall under my care.”

The commencement of practice, was, no more than the forms of it, to exclude the accession of knowledge, in the estimation of Dr. Jebb. While, therefore, he was exercising the art of healing, he laboured to improve himself in those branches which were to direct it with greater success. He applied closely to private study; and, this year,
again

That HE, whose thought must visit every theme,
Whose heart must every strong emotion know
By nature planted, or by fortune taught;
That HE, if haply some presumptuous foe,
With false ignoble science fraught,
Shall spurn at freedom’s faithful band;
That HE their dear defence will shun,
Or hide their glories from the sun,
Or deal their vengeance with a woman’s hand!

AKENSIDE.

again attended Dr. Hunter's lectures both in the spring and winter : the lectures of Mr. John Hunter, and Dr. Higgins ; he also diligently attended St. Bartholomew's hospital from April to October.*

At this time, while the private friends of Dr. Jebb were desirous of extending his practice, it is greatly to the honour of many eminently and deservedly distinguished names in medicine, that they concurred in introducing him into the royal society. His certificate which was read on the 12th of November, 1778, had previously received such very respectable signatures, as to shew that the cause and countenance of science were not uninterested in his election. Through the obliging communication of Mr. Planta, secretary to that learned body, I am able to give the names of these gentlemen ; and have only to regret that the honourable

* In a small pocket book in use for 1778, I observed the following memorandum. " I see every day more and more, that the art of physic may be simplified like divinity, and that names of diseases must in time be forgotten, and the whole of a disorder be considered as a derangement in some part of the system, generally by inflammation, its adjuncts and consequences."

nourable testimony of many subsequent signatures, cannot be produced, not being entered on the books of the society.* After the certificate had hung up in the society's meeting room the statutable time, Dr. Jebb was elected a fellow on the 18th of February, 1779. It has also been further observed to me, that though upwards of one hundred members were present, it was very seldom that a candidate came so near to an unanimous election.

There was published, sometime in the year 1778, an anonymous tract, under a mistaken address, and this mistake, rather than the matter or importance of it, has occasioned our notice of it. It was entitled, "A letter to the rev. Mr. Jebb, with relation to his declared sentiments about the unlawfulness of all religious addresses to Christ Jesus."

Arguments

* The certificate was originally subscribed.

Rd. Watfon	Jno. Lewis Petit,
Wm. Heberden,	Wm. Pitcairn,
T. Brand Hollis,	Percival Pott.
E. Waring,	Rd. Warren,
R. Jebb,	Wm. Hunter,
R. Price,	

Arguments upon the subject of this letter, had been produced by Mr. Lindsey in his “Apology on resigning the vicarage of Catterick;” and this examination of them, was, by mistake, inscribed to Dr. Jebb, upon the presumption of his having referred to the writings of Mr. Lindsey, in support of his opinion. But “how the author came to inscribe his letter to Dr. Jebb,” says Mr. Lindsey, “is not easy to divine, who has never referred his readers to any of my publications for a proof of his assertions respecting the wonderfulness of praying to Jesus Christ.”*

Dr. Jebb’s letter, in answer to his correspondent, bears date April the 22d 1779, and was printed as a postscript to Mr. Lindsey’s “Two dissertations on the preface to St. John’s gospel, and on praying to Jesus Christ,” which were published soon after.† In consequence of which, the author afterwards addressed to him “A second letter,”‡ in

* See “Two dissertations, introduction, p. iv. 8vo. 1779.

† See vol. ii. p. 225—235

‡ 8vo. 1781.

in the way of reply, and as a little supplementary appendage to his "Remarks on Mr. Lindsey's Dissertation upon praying to Christ." But this tract, though written with good temper, containing nothing material, may be here dismissed without prejudice to any of the parties concerned.

The toil of intense study, and the exertions of a mind ever active and devoted to the service of learning, humanity, and the public weal, made their silent depredations on the health and spirits of Dr. Jebb; but his mind suffered much more, from the interruptions which occurred in his friendship and intercourse with an individual. His sensibility, under what he justly conceived to be undeserved hard treatment, though it never destroyed the charity of his mind, frequently robbed it of its peace.

In great affairs, no man possessed more confidence in the providence of God, but the disaffection of a friend wounded him deeply. The recollection of his conflicts under these circumstances, in one particular case, is grievous, but the recital of them
would

would be tedious, possibly uninteresting, and, perhaps, incredible.

It must suffice to say, that his little bark was obliged to slip anchor, while its master, thoroughly sensible of preceding obligations during his stay in port, was diffident of his own ability to guide the helm. And, having been led to expect, both a pilot and a convoy, was less prepared to contend with the winds and the waves which he must necessarily expect in the open sea. This distress led him at once to commit the success of his voyage to the blessing of God alone; while certain partial attachments fixed his eye on the coast, as it retreated from him. The motto which he assumed for his carriage, under these circumstances, was significant and well chosen, "*favente Deo et amicis.*"

To this, however, it may be presumed he gave a more significant translation, than - would have occurred to an indifferent spectator.

A great part of three months, in the year 1779, was employed in attending on several of sir Richard Jebb's patients, during his absence from town, on account of his health; this, added to his own practice, and attendance
on

on the lectures of Dr. Hunter, Dr. Keir, and of Da Costa, and at the hospitals, fully employed his time.

Dr. Hinckley, a worthy and respectable character, and physician to Guy's hospital, dying the first of November this year, it was proposed by one of the faculty, who is universally esteemed an ornament to it, that Dr. Jebb should offer himself as successor.

He accordingly applied for the appointment, and was well supported, but declined the prosecution of it.

The warm affection which Dr. Jebb had for the civil liberties of mankind, and the share he was disposed to take in their support, first appeared before the public eye, in "An address to the freeholders of Middlesex," assembled at free mason's tavern in Great Queen-street, on monday, December 20th, 1779, for the purpose of establishing meetings to maintain and support the freedom of election. Upon this occasion, he communicated to James Townsend, esq. chairman of that meeting, the above address,

under

under the signature of “*Salus publica*,” presuming, that if the sentiments “appeared to be founded in reason, they would not be the less regarded, on account of their being suggested by an unknown individual.”

This address was immediately printed, and very soon passed through three editions, each being enlarged, by the addition of fresh matter; and in 1782, followed “the fourth edition corrected,” which also bore our author’s name in the title page.*

While this little tract appeared anonymous, its character was decided with justice, and determined by its own intrinsic merit. “The author of this address,” says a writer in a periodical publication, “is a close thinker and a sound reasoner. His observations on county meetings are offered with a view to render such assemblies of real, constitutional, and permanent effect, for redress of national grievances; and even, if occasion require, for a reformation of the constitution itself: the writer’s arguments are conceived

* See vol. ii. p. 453—490.

conceived with solidity, and urged with judgment and temper.”*

There appeared, soon afterwards, some “Observations” on this address, intended to ridicule it; but both the weapon and the warrior were unequal to the opposition of truth, defended by one of her most faithful sons and able champions.

On the 2d of February 1780, a very large and respectable meeting of the electors and inhabitants of the city and liberty of Westminster, was held in Westminster-hall, for the purpose of petitioning parliament, for the correction of the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; for the reduction of all exorbitant emoluments; for the rescinding and abolishing all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and for the appropriation of the produce to the necessities of the state. The petition being unanimously voted, and Mr. Fox appointed to present the same to the house of commons, that gentleman declared the strongest reprobation of the principles and conduct of the administration
of

* See Monthly review, vol. lxii. p. 81.

of that time, with all his usual force of argument and eloquence.

Dr. Jebb now rose, for the first time, to address a popular assembly upon a political question. Without any previous design or preparation, but, roused by the zeal and integrity of his own heart, he now publicly “ congratulated the friends of liberty upon the good sense and firmness which were manifested in the resolutions of that day. Resolutions, important in themselves, but still more important in their consequences ; as, from the calm and temperate demeanour of the people upon that occasion, he formed an happy presage, that points of still greater consequence, which concerned the very existence of the constitution, would be established by means equally pacific.

“ He expressed his pleasure also in observing the union that prevailed among all ranks of people on that occasion. He saw the nobleman, the gentleman, the artisan, the mechanic ; in short, every description of men, united in opposing the arbitrary measures of an abandoned administration, and

those principles of corruption which had so much disgraced this age and nation.

“ He lamented the principles and practices of the times, with respect to the election of members of parliament; the assumed power of the few to dictate to the many in a point of so much consequence as the representation of the people. He insisted, that the city and liberty of Westminster afforded melancholy instances of this unconstitutional interference; that it became the inhabitants to exert themselves, and to seat the men in parliament who were the real objects of their unbiassed choice; that he wished them to attend to the glorious examples set by the county of Middlesex, and carry the man of their choice, without expense, to the door of the house of commons.

“ He proposed Mr. Fox as a man from whose abilities and firmness this nation had every thing to hope; and he trusted that his public conduct, at that awful crisis, would be had in remembrance, as long as the love of liberty continued to be a passion in the breasts of englishmen. He then moved “ that the hon. Charles James Fox, the chairman of that
that

that meeting, be requested to offer himself a candidate to represent the city and liberty of Westminster in parliament, at the ensuing general election.”*

About the latter end of the same month, Dr. Jebb was appointed by the committee of the county of Huntingdon, one of their deputies, to attend a meeting in London of representatives from certain other petitioning counties, in order to concert measures for the more effectual reform of the present constitution of the house of commons.

The deputies met accordingly, at the St. Alban's tavern, on March 11, 1780, and continued their meetings by several adjournments : in the conclusion of their deliberations, they agreed to a “ Memorial, containing reasons for a plan of national association.” This memorial was worthy of the wisdom and spirit which prevailed at this meeting ; and being one of those public papers which is congenial with the spirit of englishmen, the reading of it will animate the heart

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of

* See “ The Remembrancer,” for 1780 ; vol. ix. p. 148.

of every true friend to his country and its king, while he laments that the matter contained in it remains, at this day, only a matter in speculation.*

The electors and inhabitants of Westminster met again in Westminster-hall on the 6th of April, agreeably to the adjournment at their former meeting. When Mr. Fox had concluded his address to the electors, Dr. Jebb arose, and in an animated speech, wherein was displayed a warmth of patriotic attachment, which reflected the highest lustre on his character, recommended to the electors of the city of Westminster to expressly stipulate with its candidates, that they should endeavour, incessantly, to procure annual parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people. He clearly pointed out the benefits that would accrue to the public from such measures; evinced the absolute necessity of exerting spirited efforts in the present alarming state of national affairs; and

* See the memorial in New annual register for 1780, [p. 104] and the Remembrancer, for the same year; vol. ix. p. 249.

and asserted, with a firm and amiable fervour, that the act passed in the reign of Edward the third, to establish annual parliaments, did not make, but legalize a prescriptive right that formed an essential part in the ancient constitution of this country. He introduced some elegant and highly merited encomiums on Mr. Fox, and was received with that strong and hearty approbation which his disinterested and manly exertions in the cause of freedom must excite in every friend of his country.

Dr. Jebb then pursued his former proposal, by moving a resolution, which passed unanimously, “ that it be an instruction to the committee to take the most effectual measures for supporting the election of the hon. C. J. Fox, the chairman of that meeting, at the ensuing general meeting.”* It is certain that Mr. Fox owed much of his success to the support and active zeal of Dr. Jebb; and I have been informed, that he ever acknowledged the superior credit he derived from the countenance of so distinguished a citizen.

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* See the Morning chronicle of April 7, 1780, and the Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 322.

The committee, in their proceeding to discharge their trust, appointed (April 12,) a select delegation or sub-committee, “ to take into consideration all such matters, relative to the election of members of parliament, as might promote the purposes of that association.” Dr. Jebb was a member of that sub-committee, and drew up that part of their report, dated May 27, 1780, which precedes the plan proposed by them for taking the suffrages of the people at the election of representatives to serve in parliament. The important matter contained in this report, and the masterly manner in which it is treated, will render it highly valuable in the estimation of the friends of the constitution; and the appropriation of so considerable a part of it to the pen of Dr. Jebb, particularly requires that it be preserved in these volumes.*

On the election of the new parliament in September, 1780, Mr. Fox was returned for Westminster. Previous to his election. I find the motives of Dr. Jebb’s attachment to him, somewhat explained; “ I am determined,” says he, “ to support Mr.

Fox’s

* See vol. iii. p. 403.

Fox's election, having proposed him for his past parliamentary conduct; having met his ideas on toleration* and on lord Beauchamp's bill:

* In the very idea of religious toleration, the state is supposed to concede that as a favour, which is due as a matter of right; but ought never to be received by the subject without an explicit reservation of the claim to established and equal liberty. It is now, however, no more than a just tribute to the noble conduct of Mr. Fox in parliament, on wednesday, March 28, 1787, (when the late application for the repeal of the corporation and test acts, was before the house,) to observe, that he acquitted himself in a manner which did the highest honour to his comprehension of the great principles of universal and unqualified toleration, and to the magnanimity of his own mind. He was opposed on this great question, by the minister of the crown, and the representative of Cambridge, united in the person of Mr. Pitt; and by the chancellor of Oxford, who, no less faithful to his trust and his principles, declared himself against the repeal of the obnoxious statutes, but with such general acknowledgments in favour of the repeal of all penal laws, in matters of religion, as should, in their necessary consequences, have placed him on the other side of the house. It might indeed happen, that his lordship did not read in his instructions, or did not recollect, that to declare for toleration and to defend the test laws, would be to establish a negative persecution, by leaving the christian appellants under civil penalties and incapacities, utterly incompatible with the lowest practical ideas of toleration. Not to mention, that, in the investigation of these just claims on the one hand, and these unrighteous impositions on the other, it seems to be overlooked by certain vindicators

bill: and he having been the steady opponent of an administration aiming at rendering the king despotic, and being now opposed to that administration, it would be criminal to desert."

The doubts which this paper may seem to import, had no respect as to his preference and attachment at this time, to Mr. Fox, but to the suggestions and importunities of some well intentioned friends, leading to some forbearance in his political engagements.

Several

cators of the present establishment, that the gospel of Christ is grossly and grievously insulted and injured by the prostitution of one of its positive ordinances to a purpose with which the christian revelation, as such, has not the most distant connection; which is totally foreign to the nature of its institution, and subversive of the design of its founder, wholly perverting it "from spiritual to civil ends; from the religious end, to make men better, to a support of one party of christians against another; not as a symbol of friendship, but of a party and division; not in remembrance of the death of Christ, but in memory of the grant of an office."

The bill introduced into parliament by lord Beauchamp, in 1780, was for amending an act of the 32d of Geo. II. entitled "an act for relief of debtors," and was intended to relieve them, under certain circumstances, from imprisonment.

Several gentlemen, friends of the liberties of their country, and confident in the excellence and congeniality of the constitution of England with the manly spirit of its inhabitants; conceiving that their equal and legal rights needed but to be known, to be supported; formed an institution in London for the very desirable purpose for circulating a better knowledge of our rights. In the month of April, this design took place, by the establishment of “ the society for constitutional information.” Dr. Jebb was one of the most zealous promoters of this institution at its commencement, and was a constant attendant at their meetings, and an occasional contributor to their publications. The society have already published several valuable papers, and done great and extensive good. The compass of their design, and their inducement to the undertaking are well expressed by themselves; “ the design of this society, say they, is to diffuse throughout the kingdom, as universally as possible, a knowledge of the great principles of constitutional freedom, particularly such as respect the election and duration of the representative body. With this

this

this view, constitutional tracts, intended for the extension of this knowledge, and to communicate it to persons of all ranks, are printed and distributed gratis, at the expense of the society. Essays, - and extracts from various authors, calculated to promote the same design, are also published under the direction of the society, in several of the news-papers: and it is the wish of the society to extend this knowledge throughout every part of the united kingdoms, and to convince men of all ranks, that it is their interest, as well as their duty, to support a free constitution, and to maintain and assert those common rights, which are essential to the dignity and to the happiness of human nature.

“ To procure short parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people, are the primary objects of the attention of this society, and they wish to disseminate that knowledge among their countrymen, which may lead them to a general sense of the importance of these objects, and which may induce them to contend for their rights, as men, and as citizens, with ardour and with firmness.

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“ The communication of sound political knowledge to the people at large must be of great national advantage; as nothing but ignorance of their natural rights, or inattention to the consequence of those rights to their interest and happiness, can induce the majority of the inhabitants of any country to submit to any species of civil tyranny. Public freedom is the source of national dignity and of national felicity; and it is the duty of every friend to virtue and mankind to exert himself in the promotion of it.*”

Dr. Petit, one of the physicians of St. Bartholomew's hospital, dying the 26th of May, Dr. Jebb offered himself a candidate to succeed to that appointment. The election came on the 23d of June; when Dr. Budd, his antagonist, succeeded by a great majority. Many circumstances conspired to defeat the reasonable expectation of the friends of Dr. Jebb. The lords S——, H——, D——, &c. went down in person to vote against him; lord North followed them, but did not reach the place
of

* See Tracts published and distributed gratis, by the society for constitutional information. vol. 1st. 8vo. 1783, p. i. and ii.

of voting till the election was determined ; his inclination, however, being well known, his troops had secured a victory before their general arrived.

Dr. Jebb's failure in his election into St. Bartholomew's hospital, may be considered as a public loss, as he had formed two designs, friendly to the improvement and extension of medical knowledge ; and these were dependent on his success. The first was, to have the case of every patient particularly stated ; and every symptom and application in the progress of the disease minutely taken down by the student. So that the history of one case being applied to another, the similarity might be ascertained by a minute registration of all the symptoms ; and a certainty introduced in regard to the knowledge of the disease and its remedy, hitherto unknown in medicine. The other was, to give a course of liberal and familiar lectures in medicine, which might be completed by the pupil's attendance in town for six weeks or two months ; and these he more particularly designed for young gentlemen and clergymen, previous to their retreat into situations

situations in the country, where valuable professional assistance is very sparingly scattered.

The opposition which was made to his election at St. Bartholomew's, followed him in the winter, when he offered himself at St. Thomas's hospital in the Borough. Indeed he relinquished his pretensions there, sooner than in the former place, but for no other reason, than because he found that all his political principles were likely to be again objected to him, and to hazard his success.

Dr. Priestley, publishing in 1780, his "Harmony of the evangelists in english," subjoined some notes which were communicated to him by Dr. Jebb; and these are severally marked by the initial letter of his name.

Dr. Jebb loved the study of the law, rather than the profession of it. But being in some degree hurt by the disappointment of his benevolent designs in his medical profession, by an opposition so determined and
violent

violent, he had formed an idea of turning his attention to the study of the law. With this design, he admitted himself of Lincoln's-inn, the 9th of November 1780, but soon gave up every thought of changing his profession; for his ability and skill in physic, secured to him good practice in the circle of private individuals, who, in the attention to their own health, renounce the influence of their party; a circumstance, which so frequently involves the loss of their credit, when choosing a physician on any public establishment.

A second delegation, which met in Guildhall, London, on the 3d of March, was formed from several petitioning counties. These delegates concurred in a petition to parliament in their own names, as freeholders of their several counties, in order to meet the formal rules of the house. *

Dr. Jebb, in the execution of this delegated trust, had, with reluctance, acquiesced in some of the measures proposed by his colleagues;

* For the report of their proceedings and petition, see the Remembrancer for 1781, vol. xii. p. 82 and 91.

leagues; and when their meetings were discontinued, he explained himself, upon the subject, in "A letter to sir Robert Bernard, bart. chairman of the Huntingdonshire committee." This letter, which is dated May the 13th, 1781, he afterwards published.*

"The great point, as appeared to him, (according to a private memorandum,) was, not to prevail with the deputies, but to animate the people to assert the three rights, viz. the right of voting to householders, equal representation, annual election." And, referring more particularly to himself, he observes, with his own usual candour and distrust of himself, "be open to advice, be temperate in the assembly of the deputies, be steady in the committee; in addresses to the people be zealous, and call upon them to assert their rights."

In the year 1781, Dr. Jebb continued to labour in the public cause.

Upon the subject of parliamentary reform, his mind was clear, and determined. His
senti-

* See vol. ii. p. 491—516.

sentiments may best be collected from one of his private letters to a much respected character, whose indefatigable services in the cause of a parliamentary reform always received their due praise from our author, though he differed from him essentially in some very important points. “ I thank you,” says he, in a letter dated August 7, 1781, “ for the account of the proceedings of your committee; and honour the gentlemen who compose it, for their perseverance at a moment, when so many, (I must own I think without reason) despair. I am sorry you seem to think it difficult to determine what steps are next to be taken. Can there be a doubt upon the subject? You say the future conduct of the committee will much depend on circumstances, and particularly on the appearances of a better and more general support next winter: but why do you mention winter on this occasion? Is it because parliament meets in the winter? are our hopes of reformation then still to depend upon parliament? upon that parliament which it ought to be the purpose of every friend to his country to reform: a parlia-

a parliament, which can only be reformed by a recurrence to the principles of the constitution, and the strenuous exertions of the collective body of the people? It is strange, as an able man well observes, that it shall be allowed to the representative to make every innovation in the constitution that selfishness and treason can suggest, and at the same time to hesitate whether the constituent has a right to reform what the villany of the servant hath deranged. I am satisfied that the people, in their assemblies, may constitutionally appoint committees, with full power to correct the abuses of representation, and are under no obligation to treat with any other parties, than the nobility and the king.

“ You say that you do not expect any thing will be done unless the measures adopted by several counties, and approved by the last general deputation, be considered; by the friends of Mr. Cartwright’s plan, as deserving of their support.

“ I must candidly confess that, for one, I would never have subjected myself to the losses, the odium, and the anxieties I have

sustained, could I have imagined that the friends of reformation would have been satisfied with so defective a plan; and I have reason to believe that many others are of the same opinion with myself. You see the advantage Mr. E. Burke has made of this (conduct of the reformers) in his letter to the people of Buckinghamshire. “ You will be called upon, says he, to declare that the house of commons is not sufficiently numerous.” His objection would have had no place, had a proposition for cutting off an hundred borough members been early adopted. But this is a measure to which the proprietors of boroughs, it seems, will not accede. Are we certain that they will, bona fide, agree to the measure of the hundred knights? will they not object to the confusion the election of them will occasion in the larger counties, without some better arrangement than at present? Lord Mahon has not convinced me that we shall be able to purchase even their acquiescence by any declarations we can make, and surely upon the principles of selfishness, it would be unwise in them to make any confession whatsoever,

soever. The additional hundred knights would of itself diminish the influence of the borough holders more than I am sure they will ever approve. Not to mention the reasonable alarm which would agitate the aristocracy, lest these hundred knights should, in a little time, notwithstanding our solemn promises to the contrary, endeavour utterly to despoil them of what they, very improperly, esteem their patrimony.

“ You say that we have no chance of success, unless the people can detach a certain class from co-operating with government in support of the present abuses. I answer, we can never expect to detach them from a connection so injurious to their country, unless we can make it their interest to unite with us. In a strict constitutional sense, it is their interest to unite with us in supporting the independence of the commons’ house of parliament; but it is impossible that we can ever render it the interest of individuals to resign that undue weight in the legislature, which many of them at present enjoy, to the great injury of the nation. We may talk of purchase,

voluntary or involuntary, as we please ; but legislation is inestimable in the opinion of the possessor : the party alluded to will never consent to accept of what we term a reasonable compensation for borough interest, until thereto compelled by the power of the people.

“ You seem to think, that the extinction of the committees will take place, unless all the friends to parliamentary reformation unite on the ground already occupied by so considerable a part of the nation. I must here beg leave to enter my protest against this representation of the case, with respect to the point of fact. The measure of the hundred knights, was the suggestion of a few individuals, and the manner in which it made its way into the delegation, and from thence into some of the committees, was not such as gave reason to imagine it would meet with vigorous and permanent support : yet I must own, though with some degree of self-condemnation, that I more than once supported it ; but, at the time I did so, I hoped the measure would have been followed by others of more consequence, and could
not

not suspect it was in contemplation even to suspend our exertions in support of this imperfect scheme, until the fantastic idea of æconomical reformation was realised by the event. In my opinion, the spirit of accommodation will ruin all; nor can any good purpose be answered by conceding to measures which the judgment disapproves.

“ Equal representation, sessional parliaments, and the universal right of suffrage, are alone worthy of an englishman’s regard; no difficulties, no dangers, no sufferings, will induce me to decline bearing my share in any constitutional exertion for their attainment. I look upon them as attainable, though probably not so speedily as we could wish; and I am confident in my former opinion, that the whole may be more easily obtained, than a part. The constitution of the commons’ house of parliament can never be restored gradatim, nor by any other power than that to which it owes its existence; I mean, the power of the people, whose proper weight and authority in the scale of government, is now rising in every part of Europe; and, I trust, will not, in

this country, much longer be 'depressed, either by lust of power in the monarch, or aristocratic jealousy in the peer.

“ The plan of parliamentary reformation, which I laid before sir George Saville, in 1776, and before the freeholders of Middlesex, in the close of the year 1779, I have thought it my duty to keep uniformly in view; although, through a desire of promoting unanimity, not very handsomely requited, I have consented to partial measures, and have been content to use the language of fervility to a tribunal, which, at the moment, I esteemed corrupt.

“ I must also beg leave to observe, that the friends of major Cartwright's system have been indefatigable in their endeavours to keep up the spirit of the friends of liberty in every part of the kingdom, although they saw measures embraced, in preference to those which they verily believed would have awakened the slumbering virtue of the people; and that they have too great a regard for the sacred cause they are engaged in, to suspend their efforts, on account of a difference in opinion; nor is it probable, that
 ever

ever the event you dread, viz. the breaking up of the present associations, which they have uniformly exerted themselves to keep in being, will induce them finally to despond.

“ Having said thus much respecting what is past, permit me to offer a few words with respect to future proceedings.

“ The cause we are engaged in, is a cause which honour and true patriotism will not suffer any man to relinquish, who has embraced it upon a proper principle; and, therefore, I am confident, the gentlemen of Yorkshire will steadily persevere. A similar perseverance of the virtuous, may be expected in every other part of England. Of this, they may be persuaded, that if, without regard to party, and with a proper degree of vigour, they shall embrace measures founded in justice, and the constitution, and of which the utility is evident to ordinary apprehension, they will meet with the full concurrence of the people; and that concurrence will enable them to effect their purpose. Conscious that such principles as will abide the trial, actuate my heart, I
place

place my confidence in the protection of heaven. I therefore will not, indeed I cannot, despond.

“ With respect to difference of sentiment, it must be excepted for a time ; only let us not obstruct free discussion of the subject ; let us rather sedulously promote it, and all will be well. Let us reflect, that true unanimity flourishes only where free discussion hath previously prevailed ; and that as the commons’ house of parliament cannot be said to be restored to freedom and independency, unless it speaks the sentiments of the english people, every englishman has a right to be consulted in its formation.

“ I have now spoken my sentiments, with a freedom for which I shall make no apology, because the subject requires sincerity of intention, and plainness of speech. I will only add, that I shall be happy in hearing from you ; and, that I am, with the most cordial respect and esteem,” &c.

Some further discriminations appear, in a letter from Dr. Jebb to Mr. Capel Lofft, (dated Dec. the 23d, 1781 ;) “ In case the militia,” says he, “ is increased, it will be
very

very fair to urge, that citizens intrusted with arms, may be intrusted with votes ; otherwise there would be a strong objection to trusting them with arms. Distress will force the doctrine we think just, upon the public ear. The opinion should be inculcated, that if the people would have their business well done, they must do it themselves ; they must begin by putting themselves in possession of the right of suffrage, on the same principle as they would abate a nuisance, or demolish an inclosure made on a common, without legal right. Nor does such act imply, but rather exclude, violence. A declaration to parliament from the present non-electors, that they are unrepresented, and, therefore, under no obligation to pay taxes, would be a sufficient hint in times when there is so great an inability to pay them.

“ The american question is a question, properly speaking, to be referred to the administrators of the king’s prerogative. The question of parliamentary reformation lies with the committees. No persons, unless delegated by the people, are competent to determine upon the point. I mean that the
mode

mode of bringing the american war before the public, is by remonstrance ; the mode of managing the parliamentary reformation is by the force of committees, appointed with sufficient powers. And I am more satisfied than ever in the idea, that the act of king, nobles, and such committees, would have more real constitutional force, than an act of king, lords, and present house of commons, were that house even disposed to do what we wish."

Major Cartwright, in his dedication to Dr. John Jebb, Mr. Lofft, and Mr. Grenville Sharp, of one of his valuable tracts, entitled, " Give us our rights," and published 1782, very properly considers them as " indefatigable fellow-labourers in the great work of vindicating the violated rights and betrayed liberties of our country." He adds further, and with great justice, that " they were men, who, with minds elevated above the mistaken pride and the selfish interests of the world, were inflexibly just to the rights and dearest interests of humanity and freedom, in every country and in every clime."

On

On the 20th of March, 1782, lord North resigned his place in his majesty's councils. Dr. Jebb wrote to Mr. Fox a congratulatory letter upon the occasion, and, in a few days, a new administration was formed, wherein the late lord Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury, and lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox the two principal secretaries of state.

Dr. Jebb cordially concurred in the address which was presented to the king on this occasion from the inhabitants of Westminster; but declined to go up with it, that, ' he might be esteemed free in the great point of reform.'

In the midst of the several changes which took place at this time in the administration of government, no consideration was taken by the new ministers to avail themselves of the abilities of Dr. Jebb; this is mentioned as a fact, and with a view to contradict a contrary report. And it is equally certain, that he had determined never to accept of any place. From a very respectable quarter it was suggested to Dr. Jebb, that his services would be very acceptable in the corporation

poration of London, and that an alderman's gown only waited his acceptance. But the duties of magistracy in the metropolis were incompatible with his medical attentions; and, therefore, he did not hesitate to decline an office, which he could not discharge. And yet, singular as it may seem to suppose our author enrobed in aldermanic furr, few men were better calculated than he was, for the impartial administration of justice, or the internal regulation of the police of London, consistent with every security of liberty and morals.

The succession of lord Shelburne in the month of July to the place of first lord of the treasury, vacant by the premature death of lord Rockingham, divided that body of men who had jointly persevered in their opposition to the administration of lord North. On this separation of former friends, Dr. Jebb was determined in his support of Mr. Fox, and was much and deeply interested for him.

The 17th of July was the day appointed for a general meeting of the electors of Westminster

minster, to consider of a petition to the house of commons for a more equal representation of the people, and for shortening the duration of parliament. Mr. Fox was unanimously called to the chair, and addressed himself to his constituents in a manly and animated speech. Mr. Sawbridge proposed the petition, and major Cartwright seconded it. Dr. Jebb delivered his sentiments also from the hustings, which having been preserved by a separate publication, they are accordingly preserved in our third volume.*

In the autumn this year, (1782) he combated, in several letters in the public prints, the proposal made for building ships of war by the several maritime counties, in the way of voluntary subscription, without the aid of parliament. One of these letters, signed "Alfred," was afterwards published in the "Bury post," by Mr. Lofft, which introduced the discussion of the legality of the subscription for ship-building; and ended in the abandoning of that measure in Suffolk, after a long correspondence in the same
paper

* See vol. iii. p. 298.

paper between Mr. Lofft and Mr. Arthur Young. *

In the midst of this detail of Dr. Jebb's political exertions, he persevered in his wonted attention to the duties and studies of his profession. His attendance on his patients, and the cultivation of his own mind, were equally unremitted. And as long as his health would admit his visiting the sick, his practice increased. In the autumn (1782) he published some "Select cases of the disorder commonly termed the
paralyfis

* These letters were afterwards published in one tract entitled, "An inquiry into the legality and expediency of increasing the royal navy by subscription for building county ships. Being the correspondence on that subject between Arthur Young and Capel Lofft, esqrs. printed at Bury St. Edmunds, 8vo. 1783.

The society for constitutional information, at a meeting on the 4th of October 1782, came to the following resolution. "That it was the opinion of that society, that raising any sums of money for building ships of war by voluntary subscription is unconstitutional; and that no aids ought to be granted to the crown, but by authority of parliament, every other method of procuring public supplies being of the most dangerous tendency."

Tracts by the society, vol. i. p. 84.

paralysis of the lower extremities. To which is added a case of catalepsy." *

The idea which he had formed of introducing such histories of cases as would be analogous to the reports and year books of our lawyers, is mentioned in the beginning of this tract.

He had, on several occasions, drawn out a scheme for taking down such cases, which had been much approved by some of the most learned men of the profession, as well in the general principle, as in his particular form. † I have been informed that
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* See vol. ii. p. 391—452.

† This scheme was drawn out on a sheet of paper, which might be extended downwards in a roll indefinitely, or if written in a folio volume might be continued in successive pages. Lines were ruled at the distance of about two inches or upwards, forming separate divisions or squares of that dimension. The left hand division was appropriated to diurnal dates and notes; observing, in the first, the duration of the disorder at the time of being called in, and in the subsequent divisions might be inserted any incidental matter, not otherwise provided for by name, in the general class; as "Jan. 11, 1780. Die martis, ab accessione morbi sexto."

the great Bacon has some where recommended a similar plan; the thought was original in Dr. Jebb, and well supported, though it may have been before suggested by lord Bacon.

Mr. Maty observes, that “ this publication was a proof though ‘ quantum temporis alii ad suas res obeundas, quantum tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique aleæ vel pilæ, tantum ille ad studia reipublicæ sumpserit,’

The divisions formed at the top of the roll or page, receive the titles or digest of the symptoms, appearances, observations, diet and prescriptions, marked with all precision and accuracy. Notes, when thus arranged, may afterwards be consulted in distinct succession, and in reference to one particular symptom, or in reference to any particular day, which will be found to meet in the rectangular division, including, in the way, the accompanying symptoms at the same time.

The titles of these classed observations are (in the case before me) the following; I. Qualitates sensiles, et præcipue cutis status, ratione caloris, coloris, et humoris. II. Status ventriculi et oris interni et œsophagi. III. Status viscerum, thoracicorum et eorundem functionum. IV. Excernendorum ratio, et status viscerum abdominalium cæterorum. V. Status encephali, ratione somni, corporis virium, idearum sensationum et mentis pathematum. VI. Symptomatum post sumnum, pastum, et medicamenta, diarium. VII. Medicamenta, diætæ, et cætera prescripta.

ferit,' Dr. Jebb had never lost sight of the engagements of his profession ; it is a proof that his diligence had not only been exemplary, but unexampled ; and it is a proof that into whatever department of life he strikes, he carries with him that spirit of improvement, and fervent wish of serving his fellow creatures, which, into whatever mistakes it may sometimes lead, is the great feature of an honest and superiorly enlightened mind." *

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* See Mr. Maty's review, vol. ii. p. 275. In another periodical literary journal, it is said, " It is with great pleasure we announce, as a writer in his new department, a person to whose active spirit of free inquiry, and zeal in the cause of public good, we have already on various occasions borne our testimony." See Monthly review, vol. lxvii. p. 299. And, in the account of domestic literature, in a more miscellaneous publication, it is said of Dr. Jebb, that " his excellent character, his respectable talents, his learned and valuable writings, as a divine, and his patriotic publications as a politician, are things of which few of our readers can be ignorant. As a physician he appears with equal advantage. Whatever Dr. Jebb applies to, he distinguishes himself by his integrity, assiduity, and capacity ; and, in these respects, he will always demand the applause of the wise and good, even with regard to points in which they may differ from him in opinion." See New annual register for the year 1782, p. 224.

In the latter end of November in this year, Dr. Jebb was seized with a violent illness, which was supposed to proceed from his attending a family in a putrid fever, of which the father and child died, and the rest of the house were infected; but his own fever was inflammatory, and brought on only by over exertions in attending patients while under that tendency. He was confined to his bed for six weeks, and was attended by sir George Baker, and sir Richard Jebb, and occasionally by that no less able and judicious surgeon, than benevolent man, Mr. Sharp.

His recovery was followed by a return to all his various attentions, in which neither his patients, nor the public, found any slackness.

In a letter to major Cartwright, dated January the 27th, 1783, he says, “ he had been to the duke of Richmond that morning, to request his attendance at the quintuple meeting, which he promised. He has written,” adds he “ such a letter to the Suffex meeting as would immortalize his name, if he was not before deserving of all respect.

respect. Never let us shift our ground, we never can stand on any other, as he has most ably shewn. Mr. Pitt, I am told, will support Wyvill's plan. I have done what I can with friends to shew them the advantage of going upon the plan of last year, and getting a parliamentary vote, that the representation is imperfect, ought to be reformed, and a committee of inquiry concerning the best plan, appointed; but I am afraid the idea is fixed."

Before the settlement of the coalition ministry in April 1783, Dr. Jebb wrote to Mr. Fox, and privately urged every argument against that measure: and, at a meeting of the electors of Westminster, at the Shakespeare tavern, Covent-garden, on the sixth of March, he reprobated it, in the strongest terms, in a speech of an hour and half.* He declared that "he had watched Mr. Fox's conduct, and hitherto his approbation was the na-

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tural

* The affectionate interest Dr. Jebb took in Mr. Fox's final determination on this occasion is beautifully expressed in a note, at the conclusion of his letters to the volunteers of Ireland, written about eight months after the fatal coalition had taken place. See vol. ii. p. 550—553, note.

tural result of his anxious attention to his actions: he said, that he had seen his triumphs, and that there was not one triumph of his honourable friend, in which he had not amply participated; he had considered Mr. Fox's triumphs, and every circumstance that added to his well earned fame, as a triumph of his own heart."

Dr. Jebb then proceeded to reprobate "the coalition, which it was rumoured, had been formed between his honourable friend, and the very men who had brought this unhappy country to the precipice on which it stood; men, who during the whole of this unfortunate reign, had evidenced, in every act of their conduct, a design to establish despotism, and to render the prince who sways the scepter of these kingdoms, as despotic as any of his most arbitrary neighbours; men, who had prosecuted that war, which had nearly reduced us to utter ruin, and had prosecuted it contrary to their own convictions of its impropriety and impracticability."

He then warned the honourable gentleman, with apparent friendship, and "intreated him,

him, with much seriousness, not to form any coalition with such men, as it must be ruinous to his fair fame, and destructive of the system, which, he sincerely believed, it was his intention to support."

"A thorough, cordial, well-grounded reconciliation, said he, with our brethren in America, was essentially necessary to our future welfare, and to our re-establishment in our consequence among the nations. America had seen the virtuous, and, in the end, the successful struggle of his honourable friend, for the security of her rights; her sons venerated him as the assertor of the cause of liberty, as the friend of suffering humanity. But what would be the consequence, if America should see the man, whose character she thus revered, uniting with the very man who had laboured to enslave her? America would distrust the sincerity of the honourable gentleman; would withdraw her confidence, suspect his professions, and refuse that connection, founded on returning friendship, which was so essential to the interests of this country."

The doctor said, “ the maxim of late had been ‘ divide et impera ;’ it had ever been the practice of those, who had the direction of the conduct of the crown, to disunite the friends of the people, and to disgrace those, who were capable of asserting their interests, conscious that union and firmness could alone secure the people against their attempts to ruin them. He warned Mr. Fox against trusting to those, whose interests, and whose system it was to betray him : they will, said he, admit you to power, and when you can no longer act with them, send you back to the people dishonoured and disgraced, and say, we have disgraced your friends, and rendered them unfit to serve you ; now take them, and use them as you please. He then conjured the friends of the people to stand aloof, and to throw themselves upon the people, who would support them, and make them indispensably necessary to the crown.” *

Dr. Jebb’s own account of this speech, in a letter to a friend, is, that he had treated
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* See the Remembrancer for 1783, vol. xv. p. 205
— 214.

the intended coalition “ with all the vehemence which the action called for, to the great offence of Mr. Fox’s friends : but, that Mr. Fox himself had behaved with great candour and politeness.”

In a private letter to major Cartwright, written about this time, Dr. Jebb, has very minutely described the leading features of his own conduct. “ It is not my nature, says he, to give way to expediency at the expense of right. Moderation, when real, I honour; but timidity, or craft, under that appearance, I detest.”

During the summer season in this year he had various fluctuations in his health and spirits. His friendly affections for some who were unworthy of them, were oftentimes the cause of much uneasiness. But while he “ cordially rejoiced in the practice of his profession,” he found himself unable to pursue his old habits of study. In August he went to Brighthelmston, for the sake of retirement, and change of air, both of which were thought necessary for the recovery of his health.

The volunteers of Ireland applied by letter, in the year 1783, to the earl of Effingham, Dr. Price, major Cartwright, Dr. Jebb, and Mr. Wyvill, for their sentiments on the proposed reform in the parliament of that kingdom. The correspondence which ensued appeared in the public prints, and, for the most part, was afterwards reprinted in one tract.* Mr. Wyvill's letters were likewise published together by himself, † as were also those of Dr. Jebb. ‡ It is no more than justice to say, that the noble lord, and the rest of the gentlemen to whom the volunteers applied, shewed themselves counsellors very competent to resolve their questions, and give them all the information
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* See "A collection of the letters which have been addressed to the volunteers of Ireland, on the subject of a parliamentary reform by the earl of Effingham, &c. 8vo. 1783, printed for J. Stockdale.

† See "Letters addressed to the committee of Belfast on the proposed reformation of the parliament of Ireland, by the rev. Christopher Wyvill. To which is prefixed, the first letter from that committee, which occasioned this correspondence: also Mr. Wyvill's address to the freeholders of Yorkshire." Printed at York; for J. Stockdale, London, 4to. 1783.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 517--553.

they fought upon the important subject of their inquiry. It was said that there were persons, high in public office at that time, who were disposed to consider some of the letters of these gentlemen as obnoxious to the censure of the law. But, it seems, the better principles and better judgment of some of their associates prevailed against the design of adopting some violent measures. And men, who were devoted to the public cause, were not to be intimidated by menace, while they justly conceived that they were serving the cause of constitutional liberty in its strongest hold, and had written no matter in their correspondence that was legally reprehensible.

In the autumn of this year, 1783, Dr. Jebb removed from Craven-street to a house in Parliament-street. There was a disposition among some of his brethren to elect him a fellow of the college of physicians, but this design was over-ruled by the apparent contrary inclination of the majority of that learned body. However, on his return from
 Brighthelm-

Brighthelmstone his business awaited him, and improved.

The american war he had deeply reprobated as founded in oppression and injustice : the conclusion of it, in the event, met his ideas in the advancement of general liberty and he rejoiced in it accordingly. In a letter to a friend at Paris in September 1783, he writes ; “ I rejoice that you saw that truly great man Dr. Franklin. I beg you will make my acknowledgments to him for his kind inquires after my health, and assure him that for the sake of America, for the sake of England, and for the sake of the species, I do most heartily rejoice, and cordially congratulate him on the final close of the american war. A contest which, for seven years, agitated my mind with feelings not to be described; but in the whole course of which, I had but one wish, viz. that victory and honour might rest on that cause, which, in an especial manner, was the cause of justice and of freedom. Thank heaven ! it has prospered beyond my expectations. I hope the fair example will do service to remotest ages ; and the acts of freemen on
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the other side of the atlantic, inspire our countrymen on this with a similar spirit, in case they should be injured in the same manner."

In one observation which I found written down in his private book, he has justly ascribed the general defection in every virtue, to the want of religion, or an inattention to its principles. " I am more and more," says he, " persuaded that the evils of government and the want of felicity in the governed, as well as deficiency in true patriotism, arise from the want of a moral and religious principle, which the religion of the gospel, unveiled in its native excellence can alone afford. Let this animate to push on the combined causes of a diffusion and right arrangement of political power, and of philological knowledge of the scriptures."

In respect to the pursuit of scriptural knowledge, in which he was singularly happy and able, he was convinced of his duty to attend to it, as appears from a former extract from his private book,* and was again reminded

* See p. 124, Ref. 5.

reminded of it by the mention made of his rare talents in this branch of learning, by Mr. Lindsey.*

It was with a view to the furtherance of this object, that he was one among the few persons who first set on foot “ The society for promoting the knowledge of the scriptures,” which was instituted on the 29th of September, 1783, and whose meetings continue to be held at Essex-house. The “ Sketch of their plan” was chiefly written by Dr. Jebb; † and though his following ill health and many avocations prevented him from furnishing any subsequent papers, much praise is due to him for marking out the only sure and legitimate way of ascertaining the true sense of the sacred book, although

* The passage alluded to is the following, “ I hold it, however, to have been a great loss to the christian world, that any thing should have forced him away from the immediate pursuit of sacred knowledge and study of the scripture, and from communicating that knowledge to others; for which he is so admirably furnished and fitted.” See Lindsey’s Hist. view, p. 483.

† See vol. ii. p. 237—253. And it is also prefixed to the first vol. of “ Commentaries and essays published by the society for promoting the knowledge of the scriptures.” Sold by J. Johnson, 8vo. 1786.

although it may only belong to men like himself successfully to walk in the path that he hath pointed out to them.

After the coalition between Mr. Fox, and lord North, and many of their respective adherents, Dr. Jebb lost all confidence in public men. His opinion will be best described by his conduct, and in his own words, in the form of resolutions moved and passed at a meeting in Westminster-hall on saturday, Feb. 14, 1784. The resolutions referred to, were as follows, first, “ that the coalition formed between the right hon. C. J. Fox, and the right hon. Frederic lord North, was injurious to the cause of freedom, and of public virtue; and that the conduct of the consequent administration was highly detrimental to the interests of Great-Britain and Ireland.” Secondly, “ that it is essential to the cause of public freedom, that all ranks and orders of men should unite and associate in favour of a substantial reform in the representation of the commons, and that this, or any administration, will deserve the support and confidence of
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the country, in proportion to the zeal with which they shall bring forward, and endeavour to carry into effect that salutary purpose." Thirdly, " that the parliamentary conduct of sir Cecil Wray, bart. had ever been honourable to himself, as well as beneficial to his country ; that he was entitled to the warmest gratitude of his constituents, and in the highest degree deserving of their future confidence and support."

In explanation of these resolutions, and before the moving of them, he observed to the electors of Westminster " that such defections from principle had ever an immediate tendency to lessen the confidence of the public in men, who hereafter should be disposed to serve them with fidelity and zeal ; that the object of that hateful union was power, not the good of the country ; that the intercourse with America, had been incumbered with odious and unnecessary restrictions ; the just claims of the irish nation to a fair representation in parliament was thwarted by the combined influence of both factions ; and that a bill had been introduced respecting the East-Indies, subversive
of

of the constitution, and establishing regulations and a form of government, in its consequences more oppressive to the natives than the unjust and unwarrantable domination it proposed to remedy; and, at the same time, creative of an influence at home, which would unavoidably lead to abuses of the most enormous kind. He declared it to be his opinion, that the parliamentary conduct of sir Cecil Wray had been truly exemplary, and trusted that the future confidence of his constituents would evince their gratitude and affection. In the next place, he adverted to the St. Alban's meeting for forming a ministry on the broad basis of an union of parties, the principle of which he reprobated in the severest language; that the union they recommended would be destructive of the small portion of liberty which yet remained to us; that its object was to impose a ministry upon the nation, by a combination of men, who, looking to that parliamentary interest which appointed them, would act in defiance of the nation, and subject the country to an house of commons, which, so far from being a real representa-

tion of the people, was a combination of factions, over which the people could have no control."

From hence Dr. Jebb took occasion to point out " the necessity of a substantial and radical reform in the representation, and insisted upon the propriety of bringing forward that measure at the present crisis ; that Ireland was determined to accomplish her purpose ; Scotland had manifested a similar disposition ; and that it behoved every englishman, as he valued his liberty, the glory of his country, long tarnished by the influence of evil counsels, and the good of posterity, to be urgent in his endeavours to effect so desirable a measure ; a measure, which could alone restore vigour and unanimity to the public counsels, and virtue to the great body of the nation. He conjured his countrymen never to abandon rights so sacred ; that liberty had long been the characteristic boast of englishmen ; and that liberty, public virtue, national honour, commerce, and internal prosperity, would revive and begin to flourish at that auspicious hour when a reform in the representation was established by

by the concurrent exertions of the friends of freedom."

At the commencement of the memorable contest for the city of Westminster, on the first of April, 1784, Dr. Jebb appeared on the hustings, and nominated sir Cecil Wray, as a proper person to represent his fellow-citizens in parliament. Unconnected with every party, as such, he voted neither for the new candidate, recommended by the newly-appointed ministry; nor for Mr. Fox, whose coalition with lord North, he ever considered as an unpardonable defection from principle, in the man whom, on all other accounts, he greatly honoured and admired.

He observed to that very great concourse of people assembled together on this occasion, that, "before he spoke to the character and parliamentary merits of the gentleman, whom it was his purpose to recommend to their suffrages, he would premise a few words respecting a subject intirely unconnected with party, and which more immediately concerned themselves.

“ You are now,” said he, “ met to exercise the most important franchise you possess ; to delegate the most important trust which can be conferred on man, the power of making laws, which may possibly tend to your peace and welfare, but may also be the occasion, to yourselves and posterity, of distress, of slavery, and final ruin. By the present unconstitutional practice, you are called upon to delegate this trust for seven years. It is, therefore, your duty, until the ancient salutary custom of annual parliaments shall, by the exertions of the people, be restored, to guard, with special care, a delegation of a nature so important ; and to use every precaution which can secure you against the consequences of its abuse : and it is more particularly incumbent upon you at this particular crisis, when the attention of the people is so strongly called to that parliamentary reform, which can alone preserve this country from destruction. The city of London has set a noble example, worthy of imitation by the whole kingdom. The principle is liberal, constitutional, and just. It is my purpose, therefore, to call upon
your

your candidates to express their assent to the following declaration : ‘ I do declare, upon my honour, that upon a fair signification of the wishes of a majority of my constituents, I will either act in conformity to their instructions, or embrace the first opportunity of vacating my seat.’ Dr. Jebb then proceeded to express his abhorrence of that coalition, which had effected so much evil to the country ; and pointed out, by variety of arguments, the necessity of marking it with peculiar censure. He declared, that “ if after such defection, men found they could regain the support and good opinion of the people, others would be encouraged to trifle with the most solid engagements, and, at first, delude with false shews of patriotism, and afterwards, at their pleasure, insult the honest feelings of their countrymen.” He then entered fully into the character and conduct of sir Cecil Wray, whom he warmly “ recommended to the citizens of Westminster, as a truly honest man : he insisted, that his parliamentary conduct had always been steady and consistent ; that he had ever been sedulously attentive to his

duty; that he was, from principle, the friend of a parliamentary reform; and that, as he acted from principles of the purest kind, he trusted he would ever serve them with fidelity and zeal."

Sir Cecil Wray expressed his readiness to consent to the proposed declaration: but the further proceedings, and event of this election, are foreign to our present purpose; nor were they otherwise attended to by Dr. Jebb, than as his mind could not be wholly disengaged from a scene that was, from many singular circumstances, peculiarly interesting.

Notwithstanding, however, the strong language in which Dr. Jebb expressed his sentiments on this occasion, and at the meeting on the 14th of the preceding February, he had a great and affectionate regard for Mr. Fox, and deeply deplored his connection and league with men, whose principles and measures he had so long opposed, and whom he had, at length, driven from the administration of government.* Of Mr. Pitt he

* Of Mr. Fox, he observes, in a private letter sent to a friend, "let any man peruse his celebrated speech
on

he was also disposed to think well, until some measures induced him to suspend that favourable opinion of him, which his former introduction of the question of a parliamentary reform, had led him to entertain. His own mind is accurately expressed in a private letter to a friend, written about six months after the dismissal of the coalitionists: "As to administration," says he, "I find myself receding very fast from Mr. Pitt, without approaching to Mr. Fox. I

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have

on the marriage-act, and he must admire his sensible feeling heart. I really do, in my conscience, believe, that he possesses the ability and the will to reform the penal code. I mean that ability which would capacitate him to preside at such a committee of lawyers, &c. as might be appointed to draw up a new penal code: I know his virtues, and I know his faults. I know the influence his party has upon him. I see how his conduct has ruined public confidence, and, I trust, I resented it as a citizen ought to do: but I deplore his loss. I do verily believe, that in every point he thinks with us about these matters; but his intimacies, his connections, bind him down to other counsels, and the habits of his life have gotten too much hold of him, and ambition is his ruling passion. Such is the misfortune of our times, that, through one cause or another, we have no great man that will steadily serve his country."

have no hope from factions. Our business is with the people, and the people's business is to do their own business. No present or future idol will do it for them." But it should be observed, and I am able, of my own knowledge to do him justice in this respect, that while Dr. Jebb expressed himself in language correspondent to his feelings on what he considered as Mr. Fox's defection from the cause of virtue, of freedom, and of the people, and on Mr. Pitt's compliance with the pleasure of others, he never failed to express his high opinion of, and respect for, the abilities of both ; and his ardent wish that they might, in the end, deserve well of their country, and obtain the reward of genuine virtue and patriotism, the blessings of their contemporaries and of posterity.

In the spring of the year 1784, Dr. Jebb was again confined to his house several weeks, by an inflammatory complaint, which formed an abscess in his groin. In the summer he went to Buxton, but returned without any sensible benefit.

In

In a letter to another gentleman, dated the 23d of June, 1784, he says, “ Every thing should be now done, which can contribute to spread the sacred flame of freedom through the country. The prospect, at present, is most pleasing, I do not say, of immediate success, for that is scarcely to be hoped for; but I rejoice to see that prejudices are every where rapidly giving way, and that there is reasonable ground to hope, perhaps, at no very distant period, for that full concurrence of the collective body, which, under heaven, can alone effect success, and render the measure permanently useful to ourselves, and our posterity.

“ The debate in the house was well supported on both sides.* Lord North brought forward the whole strength of the argument of the opponent party, and Mr. Pitt ably answered his objections; and, moreover, pledged

* On the motion made, June 16, 1784, by alderman Sawbridge, and seconded by Mr. alderman Newnham, “ that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament.” Which was rejected by a majority of 74. See New annual register for 1784, p. 122.

pledged himself never to desert this cause; which last circumstance I am glad of, chiefly on his own account, as I wish him to establish a character for consistency and honour. But I trust that success in our measure does not depend upon the precarious virtue of ministers, parliaments, or kings; but, upon that general approbation, with which a measure that aims at the abolition of faction, and the promotion of peace and good order, will sooner or later be received by a generous, spirited, and enlightened people."

With respect to Dr. Jebb's faith in ministers, he considered their attachment to a parliamentary reform, as the only test of their friendly disposition towards the liberties of the people. He greatly lamented, that when the rage for addressing the king, on the dissolution of the parliament, in 1783, prevailed, some persons had obstructed the admission of his favourite cause, along with their congratulations, which the circumstances of that season afforded so favourable an opportunity to mention with considerable advantage. Observing, in a letter to a friend, dated August the 16th, 1784, "that they
who

who do not make our cause the first political object, are not worthy of being reported its friends."

The effect of a reform in the representation, he justly conceived, would appear in every political measure, by affording the utmost perfection of political wisdom, integrity, and confidence. Its influence upon an union with Ireland, he observed, in a letter to Mr. Joy, of Belfast, dated November the 28th, 1784. "With respect to your connection with this country," says he, "no man is more satisfied of the necessity of a federal union than myself, but I have long imagined that every attempt to settle such connection, upon an equitable permanent basis, will be impracticable, until parliaments are elected, which shall fairly represent the real interests of each country, which shall promote the substantial interest of both, and, at the same time, prevent the possibility of future discord."

Dr. Jebb had every attention paid to him from the friends of the common cause. He had been the delegate from the committee of Huntingdonshire, the confidential friend
of

of a respectable committee of correspondence appointed by the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps in Ireland; and was afterwards elected a member of the committee of the county of Caernarvon. Upon this last occasion, I am favoured with his letter to Mr. Griffith, which, as it is not confined to the single acknowledgment of the compliment intended by his election into that body, but enters into the principles and object of his conduct, deserves particular notice.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I HAVE to request that you will communicate to the committee of the county of Caernarvon, my best acknowledgments for the honour they have conferred upon me by electing me into their society.

“ I recollect, with satisfaction, that the county of Caernarvon, at an early period, asserted the necessity of reforming the representation of this country; that its freeholders have persevered, with unabated energy, in the pursuit of that great object; and that, upon a late occasion, they afforded a noble example of consistency and spirit, by declar-
ing

ing their sentiments upon this subject, at the foot of the throne.

“ My feelings with respect to this great measure, rendered every hour more necessary, are, I trust, in unison with those of the gentlemen I have now the honour, through your means, to address. It shall ever be my pleasure, and my pride, to convince them, that I regard their approbation as an additional incentive to the perseverance in that line of conduct which has recommended me to their favour.

“ The evils which afflict all ranks and orders in this country, and now threaten to overwhelm it, are of such a nature, that nothing under providence, but the united strength and concentrated wisdom of its best and ablest men can rescue it from destruction.

“ In a free and constitutional parliament alone it is reasonable to expect that wisdom. It hath not hitherto been found either in ministers or kings. And the strength which rests upon any other basis will appear to be weakness in the day of trial.

“ Recent

“ Recent events shew the necessity of an exertion of the inquisitorial power of the people ; that power, which, by their real representatives, they have always exercised in times of difficulty and danger with effect.

“ The doctrine lately advanced by high judicial authority, respecting the trial by jury, and law of libels, is justly alarming.

“ The freedom of the press hath been invaded,* and the right of the people to assemble for the purpose of considering their grievances, and of deliberating upon the mode

* Our author once observed, when speaking of the bill which passed the parliament of Ireland to restrain the liberty of the press,—“ If there really exists that bad spirit in the country, which is held forth by the partizans of the bill, is it probable that such spirit will be subdued or softened by the proposed restraint ? I have always conceived that the freedom of the press affords the grand security against that detestable practice of assassination, which so much disgraces those countries where this blessing is unknown. A man conceives resentment ; the press affords an opportunity of venting his passion ; the present feeling is gratified ; the resentment is no more. But, if he is restrained from the opportunity of pouring forth his plaint into the breasts of his fellow-citizens, the passion conceives fresh fury from confinement, and dark resentment affects its purpose by a more fatal and surer process.”

mode of peaceably redressing them, has been questioned in a neighbouring kingdom.

“ If the liberties of Ireland be extinguished, the boasted liberties of England may not long survive.

“ In these circumstances, I am free to declare my opinion of the necessity of a general association for restoring the constitution.

“ But to you it is unnecessary to expatiate. Permit me once more to express my sense of obligation to the respectable committee and yourself, and to assure you of the esteem with which I am

Your sincere friend and obedient servant,

JOHN JEBB.

Parliament-street,

Nov. 19, 1784.

While the politics of Ireland more particularly engaged the attention of this country, as exhibited in the resolutions of their volunteer corps and general meetings of delegates, as also in the ministerial operations of a contrary tendency, it was natural to suppose the measures pursued in that kingdom,

dom, would be adopted in this. Dr. Jebb used to observe on that occasion, that as men looked sometimes to the west for evidence of the sun having risen, viz. when high hills in that quarter catch the first rays of light, so he looked to Ireland for the minister's purposes. He had observed so many and repeated defections in public characters, that he placed no further confidence in any thing, but deeds. He generally suspected the favourable issue of general proposals, and was careful to mark, very exactly, every weighed expression in which such proposals were made. This he did, with every allowance that candour could suggest, but not without the most pungent concern at observing how frequently the integrity and independence of the man, were lost in the official character; he suffered under the very mortifying reflection that the very appointment which gave scope to the effecting the most signal services to our country, and of raising the most honourable fame to its ministers, was very generally made the medium through which they struck at the vitals of liberty, and sealed their

their own shame; oftentimes leaving themselves no other than the thin, spare covering of that mantle, which shelters them in "the hospital for incurables."

These observations will be justified by an extract from a letter to a friend, when Mr. Pitt's engagement to Mr. Wyvill gave the public some hope of a reform in the representation.* "I am informed," says he, "by Mr. Wyvill, that, upon the reiterated assurances of the zeal of Mr. Pitt for a parliamentary reform, he has written into Yorkshire to sound the friends there respecting a meeting. I have the greatest opinion of Mr. Wyvill's integrity and zeal, but as I am not so clear, with respect to the

* The engagement referred to was expressed in the following terms: "Mr. Wyvill has been authorised by Mr. Pitt to assert, that he will bring on the question of parliamentary reformation as early in the next session as possible; that he will support his propositions to the utmost of his strength, and exert his whole power and credit, as a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly to carry such a meliorated system of representation, as may place the constitution on a footing of permanent security."

the extent of Mr. Pitt's idea, and am far from being clear that the repeal of the septennial bill is to form a part of his plan, (without which we obtain nothing) I am far from being sanguine with respect to the event. I could not, however, avoid giving so true a friend to the cause as you are this information; advising nothing but to look out, and to keep a good watch, and to be upon your guard not to adopt hastily any plan of reform, in which the aforesaid repeal is not contained. For what avails it, if members are ever so well returned, if they sit for seven years? The majority could never stand the powers of corruption, that would be exercised upon them. On the other hand, I see that a repeal of the septennial act, without some reform in the representation, either concomitant or subsequent, so as to take place before the next general election, would be but of little avail.* For these

* "It would be right," says he, on another occasion, "to say of annual elections, not that the people have a right to them, for they have a right to any thing; but that annual elections are the best means of having the voice

these reasons, let us be careful that both points are demanded." And he afterwards observes to the same friend: " The men who really mean to serve us, will receive their due share of honour, when the deed is done; before that moment, praise and confidence will be, in my humble judgment, both misplaced."

So again, in writing to another friend, on the same occasion, he says, " it is a good thing when ministers of state thus come forwards; but it will behove the people and the people's friends to speak explicitly, and not, on any account, to manifest a predilection in favour of party. The cause being infinitely too important to be abused to party purposes. Having no communication myself with ministers of state, nor, indeed, desiring any, having, I think, reason to fear their intentions when I look to what has been done and is doing in Ireland."

P 2

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voice of the people heard, and of controlling the representative, and of having the greatest number possible of voters, come of age to vote, and, therefore, are the right of the people. Sessional parliaments may be objected to, as the session might be prolonged to seven years."

The discussion of the rights of juries, in the case of the dean of St. Asaph, greatly engaged Dr. Jebb's thoughts. "The fox-ites," says he, in a letter to a friend, "are much for a declaratory law respecting juries. I have some apprehensions of such a measure. I would rather wish an impeachment, or an exhortation from the people's representatives to the people, to use the power, lord Mansfield allows, on all occasions; or, what strikes me more, to repeal the concluding part of Westm. ii. c. 30. in such a manner, that in all criminal cases, the jury be obliged, not barely permitted, to find a general verdict; and that they should never be permitted to find the truth of indifferent facts, and leave the legal complexion of those facts to the justices; for by such conduct they, in fact, desert their charge, and deliver up their fellow-citizen, who has put himself upon their judgment for good and evil, to the professional prejudices of men, who, not being recently sworn to the specific case, cannot have their feelings so much alive, as men whose oaths are taken for the single purpose of trying whether the

culprit

culprit hath been guilty of an infraction of the laws of his country. Besides, the jury thus sworn should ask the culprit's leave to divide the law and fact. I have often thought the above permission clause, in Westm. ii. c. 30. a fatal one; it opened the door to those incroachments of the justices, which have now invested them with all power, and reduced the people to almost brutal ignorance of what it most concerns them to know."

And in a subsequent letter to the same gentleman, he says, " it is time I should thank you for the perusal of the admirable tract on libels. Every thing I see, points out, in my idea, the necessity of a penal code, wherein crimes should be defined with precision, and short forms of indictment, like original writs, should be established; and juries be under an obligation to find the truth or falsehood of the general issue. I am also inclined to think, that a libel should not be considered as a criminal, but as a civil injury only; and damages, the only remedy. Crimes of like nature against the

state, such as attempts to disturb the public peace, by seditious words, writings, or acts, might come under other offences."

Mr. Wyvill expressing an earnest desire that Mr. Pitt's bill for a reform might meet with the approbation of the society for constitutional information, and, if possible, be made the center of union among the friends of a reform; a motion to that effect was made in the society by a friend of Mr. Wyvill's, who was disposed to adopt that idea. Dr. Jebb readily assented to the publication and circulation of Mr. Pitt's plan, but warmly protested against any declared vote of preference. On this occasion he was told by some, that "he shewed himself an enemy to the cause." "I am censured," says he to a friend, "as meaning to overthrow a question, in support of which I have sacrificed my fortune, health, and peace of mind, so far as peace of mind depends on external circumstances; but I will not swerve from principle, let them say what they please,"

Dr.

Dr. Jebb also wrote to Mr. Wyvill, about the same time, to decline attending a meeting at the Thatched-house tavern on the 7th of May, which was called together, with the view of uniting the general friends of reform, upon the principles of Mr. Pitt's bill. This letter soon afterwards appeared in the public prints, and is preserved in these volumes, as containing the doctor's sentiments upon the policy of that proposal, and as shewing his friendly disposition towards those who were divided from him in opinion, as well as his inflexible adherence to his own convictions, independent of his personal attachments to several very highly respected characters.*

In the autumn this year, Dr. Jebb went to Cheltenham, but returned from thence, with as little advantage to his health as he had the preceding year visited Buxton. While at Cheltenham, and, for several weeks afterwards, during his confinement at home he studied the saxon language, the anglo-saxon laws, english history and antiquities, with

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a view

* See vol. iii. p. 377.

a view to examine into our criminal code, and particular points of liberty. The vigour of his mind was still equal to the furnishing himself with this fresh store of knowledge; he foresaw the advantage of such an acquisition in the investigation of the legal rights of englishmen, and had designed to have employed it in the support of some great constitutional questions, which he considered as essential to the freedom of his country.*

But

* Dr. Jebb had much considered the state of the criminal law of this country, and was convinced of the great necessity of a revision of the whole penal code. At his instance, Mr. Lofft published his catalogue of penal statutes. Dr. Jebb frequently observed not only the readiness, but the carelessness with which such laws were frequently passed, and of which sir William Meredith once very seasonably and properly apprised the house. Besides which, the same gentleman pleaded with great force of argument, in a committee of the house of commons on the 13th of May 1777, against the increase of penal laws.

In 1785 there were published "Thoughts on executive justice." A tract, which, though not very generally approved, was more commended than was consistent with the natural discernment and humanity of englishmen. Such approbation, Dr. Jebb considered as the reproach of our wisdom and virtue.

But

But, as the year began to dawn, it was very observable to many of his friends that, according to every appearance, and without some very great and singular effort of nature, his increased debility, would defeat every exertion of the most judicious medical assistance, and terminate the remaining sparks of human life.

In this enfeebled state, his mind was active. His "Thoughts on prisons," were printed, and circulated in the county of Suffolk in 1785, by his much valued friend Mr. Lofft; and there is sufficient reason for concluding that this little tract had effect on the deliberations of the justices at Ipswich,
and

But these "Thoughts," whatever impression they might make in their day, on the minds of those who think there is no security to be had for themselves, but by the destruction of half their species, or when they are themselves defended by a perpetual guard and a bayonet, received their final overthrow in a demonstration of their evil tendency in some very masterly "Observations," published so lately as 1786, and said to have been written by a learned and very ingenious gentleman of one of our law societies; and to them is added "A letter containing remarks on the same work," in which it is easy to discover the sentiments and the style of the celebrated Dr. Franklin.

and Bury, then engaged in erecting a new gaol for the division of Ipswich, and a new house of correction for that of Bury. In the former, the exterior wall was reduced in height to 15 feet above the surface ; at Bury, the outer wall was rejected.

The good effects of this very excellent tract it was apprehended would be extended by a more general publication. In this hope Dr. Jebb revised and corrected it with his dying hand :* and his surviving friend published

* See vol. ii. p. 554—568 Upon the publication of this posthumous tract, Mr. Maty observed, that it was “ the last work of the much valued and much lamented John Jebb ; he was correcting some of the last sheets of it,” says he, “ the last time I saw him, and with it he closed a life of the most vigorous, and unremitting pursuit of whatever he conceived to be useful to his fellow creatures, for whom he seemed to live.” Mr. Maty closes his account with saying that he considered Dr. Jebb as “ the most perfect human being he, and he believed, those who approached him as nigh as he did, had ever seen.” (See his New review for May 1786, vol. ix. p. 347.) Since which time, that worthy and learned man has finished his course, (January 16, 1787,) in the 43d year of his age, and in his last illness made it his request to be buried near the grave of his friend. Mr. Maty’s learning and connections promised his future advancement

lished it soon after his death, adding there-
to “ an abstract of felonies created by statute
and

advancement in the church, but his conscientious scruples induced him to relinquish a situation flattering in all worldly prospects. But it is not my purpose to enter into any particular biographical account of him ; nevertheless, his “ Reasons for separating from the established church,” makes his situation, added to his recent death, so nearly connected with that of our author, that a republication of them, is neither uninteresting to the cause of religion, nor unimportant to the memory of so excellent a man. And being united by friendship in life, I wish their names may not be separated in death. Whatever difference there was in opinion between Mr. Maty and Dr. Jebb, on certain questions, he was nevertheless a constant attendant at the same place of public worship ; for although he was, as he says himself, “ rather inclined to the arian hypothesis,” he was, in respect to the object of religious worship, strictly speaking, an unitarian : nor would he join in offering up prayers to any other than the one only true God, the father of all. Some account of Mr. Maty is given in the Gentleman’s Magazine for January in the present year, (vol. lvii. p. 92,) and in the same valuable periodical publication for 1777, (vol. xlvii. p. 466) the following paper was first published.

British Museum, Oct. 22, 1777.

“ I should neither have withdrawn myself from the ministry of the church of England, nor have troubled the public with my reasons for so doing, if I had not thought myself obliged to both. I trust, therefore,
that

and other articles relative to the penal law." His "Biographical sketch," which also accompanied

that both the step itself, and this account of my motives for taking it, will be treated with candour.

"As a christian thoroughly satisfied with the evidence, and deeply solicitous about the success of whatever had a tendency to promote the cause of christianity, I thought myself called upon to study the controversy about subscriptions. The following is an account of the effect that study has had upon my mind, which I offer as a vindication of my own conduct only, and hope it will be accepted as such.

"I have no objection to subscriptions in general to articles of faith, which, notwithstanding what has been urged against them by Burnet, the masterly author of the Confessional, and others, seem to me both lawful and expedient; all the arguments that have been brought against them tending only to prove that their use has been less hitherto than it might have been, owing to the narrow principles on which they have been framed; considerations which, in my opinion, do not outweigh the objections stated by Dr. Balguy to having none at all.

"But satisfied as I should be, for myself, with a subscription of some sort, and probably not a very general one neither, I cannot comply with that required of me to the present articles and liturgy, for the following reasons.

"First, after bestowing all the pains which I am able to give in informing myself of what is the true scripture doctrine of the trinity, the only conclusion I have been

compained it, I am happy to subjoin to these memoirs ; and I should be wanting in justice to

been able to arrive at is, that I see no sufficient proof of the athanasian, and rather incline to the arian hypothesis.

“ Secondly, I am clear, that the very dangerous doctrine that unbaptized children are subject to the penalties of sin, is asserted in the ninth article, and still more strongly in the service for the public baptism of infants ; and that it is not taught in the bible.

“ Thirdly, I cannot help thinking, notwithstanding what has been written by Dr. Tucker, and others, upon the subject, that the seventeenth article does teach absolute predestination ; a doctrine likewise not found in the bible, and of a still more destructive tendency than that of original sin. These are my principal objections ; I have others to many parts of the service, but do not mention them, partly because they are to things generally complained of, and which will probably be removed whenever a revision takes place ; and, partly, because I do not know how far, had they been the only ones, they would have led me to think of a separation.

“ This separation I do now think myself authorized to ; because, believing the doctrines themselves to be erroneous, I am not satisfied with any reasons that I have seen given for continuing to subscribe them under such a persuasion. I cannot be thoroughly satisfied, that either the words in which it is drawn, or the king’s declaration, justify me, who think with Arminius on the subject, in subscribing the seventeenth article ; the

more

to Mr. Lofft not to mention that I received from him in the handsomest manner, the liberty

more, as it is a subject which, in my opinion, is to be disputed upon, and the obvious sense of the article preached against, whenever opportunity offers. If the plea made for subscribing this one could avail me, I have no such plea for subscribing the articles relative to the trinity, or continuing to read the parts of the liturgy relative either to them or the doctrine of original sin. These were not subjects of dispute at the time the articles were drawn, and of course no salvo was made for them, except the general one of the sixth article. But surely Dr. Waterland very fully confuted Dr. Clarke's ideas on this subject, in his Case of arian subscriptions; and if he had not, the author of the Confessional has unanswerably proved, that if the sixth article had been designed to justify those who, willingly binding themselves to support the opinions of the majority, propagate opinions different from theirs, it might have justified the roman catholics, it might have justified the first seditious and mad disgracers of protestantism, whereas against both these the articles are well known to have been made. Neither Dr. Powell's plea in favour of first subscriptions, nor Mr. Hey's Considerations on obsolete ordinances, can be of service to me, who, at this time of life, am not at liberty to subscribe upon authority, and whose objections both to articles and liturgy are too extensive to find a solution in the doctrine of obsolete ordinances.

“ Finally, I can neither submit to acquiesce in silence, after having made my objections known, nor take upon me to alter the service of the church as long as I continue

liberty of incorporating into the present work, this last legacy of our friend.

Dr.

tinue to profess myself a minister of it. The latter, besides its being of dangerous example, I rather think my voluntary promise to use the established liturgy precludes me from. With the former, I could only have been satisfied upon the supposition that the things complained of were indifferent, or, as they have been thought to be by many good men, of little importance; but as I should in that case have thought it my duty to have waited for a change by public authority, without expressing any disapprobation public or private, so being of a very different opinion, that is, believing firmly that some of the obnoxious doctrines strike at the root of all religion, natural as well as revealed, and that nothing is of little importance which the deists and methodists can make so formidable use of as they are known to do of the subscriptions of those amongst us who subscribe what they profess not to believe; under these circumstances I have nothing left me but the part on which I have determined, and that is,

“ To withdraw myself from ministering in the church of England, either till our forms shall have undergone such a revision and alteration as I think they stand in need of, or till time and farther study shall have prevailed upon me to view them in a different light from what I can do at present.

“ This I, therefore, thus publicly declare that I do, with becoming humility, with the utmost diffidence and regret for differing from such numbers of wise and good men, and with the resolution to persist in such studies as
may

Dr. Jebb was able to prescribe without any loss of judgment, during his own last illness, to such indispositions of his friends as would admit of their attendance at his own house. Even when the month of January was considerably advanced, one who is very near and dear to myself, benefitted most essentially by his medical directions ; and, enfeebled as he was, he prescribed, not merely with the skill of the physician, but with all the ardour and affection of the friend. The scene made a deep impression upon me,
and

may best serve the general cause of religion, at the same time that they bid fairest for affording my own mind the conviction none can more ardently wish me than myself.

“ I will only add, that I do not mean to preclude myself from officiating in any other protestant congregation ; on the contrary, should I see reason to believe that there is any number of pious people disposed to attend a place of public worship, where a liturgy, not materially different from Dr. Clarke’s, shall be used, I will take the first opportunity which presents itself of opening a place of public worship with such a liturgy. In this I shall do no more than follow that strong inclination which first led me to adopt, and will ever incline me to return to, the most pleasing, the most honourable, the most useful of all occupations.”

and I do not wish that time should obliterate it.

In February he moved to Egham for a fortnight or three weeks, but without any other apparent prospect than a speedy dissolution. And yet, in this late period, his mind was sensibly delighted with the openings of nature, and he expressed himself to that effect in a letter to his intimate and much valued friend, Mr. Brand Hollis ; “ The sight of nature,” says he, “ in her first exertions, is itself enough to make a man better. I think I feel its force.”

He survived his return to his house in Parliament-street about a week, and on the evening of thursday, March the 2d, 1786, about eight o'clock, he breathed his last, having only a few weeks before entered on the 51st year of his age.

His remains were buried in Bunhill-fields burying-ground, on thursday, March 9th, attended by many of his friends to the place of interment. The scene was awful, as there seemed not an heart insensible of the loss sustained in the death of so excellent a man.

To draw out his character at length, would be again to recite his life and labours, or to obtrude the partial judgment of a friend, when the reader is made fully competent to form his own. The reputation of Dr. Jebb rests on the most solid and lasting basis, while it is left to rest upon his own unfulfilled, amiable, and useful life.

Examine his conduct, and the nearer you view it, the more distinctly will you observe his never ceasing pursuit of knowledge and truth ; and his never once departing from his own well formed principles and convictions. And in all his differences with others, you cannot fail to mark his candour in speaking of the persons and motives of his adversaries, however severely he reprobated their opinions and conduct.

In every point of view, he appears to advantage, and is deserving of much praise. In his own acquirements he united the various merits which have been ascribed to men of the most distinguished eminence. As a divine, he truly deserved the character which was given by Erasmus of William Latimer, "*vere theologus, integritate vitæ conspicuus.*" As a physician, we may, with great truth,

truth, apply to him, what Casaubon said of Galen, “ criticorum, non minus quam medicorum principem.” As a patriot, we may mark him in the character of Sidney, “ sanctus amor patriæ dat animum.” ^{1st}

In fine, “ fuit ille vir, patres conscripti, sicut scitis, cum foris clarus, tum domi admirandus ; neque rebus externis magis laudandus, quam institutis domesticis.”

Note, omitted p. 95, l. 1, of the Memoirs.

THE abolition of the slave trade in America, was a measure so just and wise in itself, that it did not fail greatly to interest the heart of Dr. Jebb, on many occasions. That some progress has been made in this good work, the following documents will shew.

The general assembly of Virginia, in October 1786, passed a bill which enacted, “that from and after the passing thereof, no slave or slaves should be imported into that state, or, if imported, be sold or bought by any person whatsoever, on penalty of forfeiting one thousand pounds for every slave so imported, and five hundred pounds for every slave so sold or bought: and likewise enacting, that every slave imported contrary to the intent of the act, should, upon such importation, become free.”

In New York there is a society for the manumission of slaves, and the protection of such of them as have been, or may be, liberated. At a meeting of the society, held in New York, November the 9th, 1787, it was resolved;

“That a gold medal be given for the best oration at the next annual commencement of the college in New York, expressing in the best manner the injustice and cruelty of the slave trade, and the oppression and ill policy of holding negroes in slavery.”

APPENDIX TO MEMOIRS.

- I. A CHARACTER OF DR. JEBB.
- II. LETTER TO THOMAS BRAND
HOLLIS, ESQ.
- III. MR. LOFFT'S BIOGRAPHICAL
SKETCH OF DR. JEBB.

I.

THE following character appeared in several of the public prints soon after the death of Dr. Jebb; it is now reprinted, with the consent of the writer, as the tribute of justice, friendship, and affection.

MARCH the 9th, 1786, were deposited in Bunhill-fields, in unconsecrated ground, the remains of Dr. John Jebb, attended by a numerous body of select friends, whom neither party, interest, or difference of opinion could prevent paying the last sad office to their virtuous friend and hero. Two bishops, who could not be present, sent their coaches, thereby doing honour to humanity.

An uncommon instance of a funeral attended solely from principles of esteem, veneration, and all the noble affections which could influence the human mind. But he was the friend of mankind, and the strenuous

assertor of the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of this globe.

The reform he attempted at Cambridge, in the education of youth, by public examinations, will deliver down his name to posterity, while the defeat entails disgrace on the opposers.

His Theological lectures on the greek Testament, replete with learning, knowledge and piety, would have been crouded with pupils, but power and orthodox zeal prohibited attendance. Reduced to a solitary pupil, the means of instruction and living were equally cut off.

He found it necessary, to recover his serenity of mind, to resign his preferments, the rectory of Homersfield, and vicarage of Flixton in Suffolk, after the severest studies and reflections, and from the deep impression of acting a lie in the presence of the God of truth.

In the practice of physic, skilful, humane and successful; had his health permitted him to have pursued that profession, he would have been eminently distinguished.

Another peculiar characteristic of this
great

great man, and which regulated his conduct; was, that after unremitted thoughts and inquiries, he never, from interest, passion, or prejudice, deviated from what he esteemed the right line of rectitude; well knowing, with Cicero, that oftentimes, one deviation leads the mind so far astray, as never to be able to recover again the strait road.

He was always suspicious of power, from observing the general abuse of it; he dreaded kings, from considering their education and the persons who frequent courts, where truth cannot enter.

He died a martyr to his zeal and activity, in promoting knowledge, piety and virtue; for his public energies ruined his constitution, and brought on a gradual decay. But he, equally disregarding the frowns or approbations of courts, the dread of poverty, or deserted old age, went on his way, rejoicing in the approbation of his own conscience, and hoping to meet hereafter in the approving smiles of heaven, a reward for all his labours.

His excellent consort, whose masculine mind understood and was in unison with all
his

his principles, is pre-eminently distinguished by her loss; she has the remembrance of his talents and virtues to console her, which none can enjoy, but those who, like her, possess his spirit.

Cui pudor et justitiæ foror,
 Incorrupta fides nudaque veritas,
 Quando ullum invenient parem?
 Obiit. Mar : 2, 1786.

II.

The following letter is so strong and animated, and worthy of antiquity, that I am happy in being allowed, through the friendship and communication of the justly esteemed, and truly respectable character to whom it was addressed, to present it to any reader.

Sunday March 12, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I SINCERELY condole with you on the loss of our most excellent friend, who, after a life devoted to religion, and virtue, and
 incessant

incessant attention to the dearest interests of mankind, has departed to that blessed society, of whom the world was not worthy. While genius, benevolence, and public spirit, are regarded, his name will be ever revered, and his memory sacred.

Poor Mrs. Jebb ! I dread to inquire concerning her ; her loss is beyond the conception of common minds. 'Tis not merely of a husband, a partner in a common interest ; but her guardian and protector, her guide, philosopher and friend. For the diruption of such an intimate union, what adequate name can be found ?

When I review, in idea, this wonderful man, with whose character I have been acquainted these nineteen years, and whose conduct I am able to trace through such trying scenes, I scarcely know whether to regret that ever I was acquainted with him, or to rejoice at my knowledge of so perfect a pattern. Alas, sir, upon what a weak and unstable foundation do we frequently erect the most virtuous resolutions of our lives ?

How often have I, when returning from the feast of reason, which all who had the
happiness

happiness of Jebb's acquaintance could enjoy, anticipated the pleasure I should have in it, at some future period? I flattered myself that the day would at length arrive, when, freed from the fetters with which I have been hitherto encumbered, I might join that illustrious band whose struggles I have envied, and whose company would give animation and security to virtue: but a principal support and ornament of it, is now no more; and where shall we find a substitute of equal worth? Let us do what is still in our power; remember what we have had: let us treasure up his maxims and principles, reflect on his conduct, and let his example animate us on the day of trial. Let us ever preserve in our minds that image of our friend, which he would have most wished us to retain, the image of his mind and virtues. Above all things, dear sir, do not let his disappointment discourage you, in the pursuit of those ends which he ever had so warmly at heart. Remember his and Milton's favourite adage; "No effort can be lost." It was the guide of his practice, is replete with good sense and philosophy,
and

and has ever had the sanction of observation and experience. Even he was not wholly disappointed : he lived to see tyranny defeated, and the seeds of freedom planted in another world : he lived to see the principles of liberty propagated far and wide, and that knowledge, with which his own mind was peculiarly illuminated, diffused to an extent for which we could scarcely have hoped. Let our regard for his happiness, repress our sorrow for his loss. Happiness in the present world, he could never have met with ; it was not intended by its maker as the mansion of perfection, and nothing that fell short of perfection, would have satisfied our honoured friend.

Shall I hazard an opinion which darts across my mind at this moment ? Though virtue, in its general tendency conducts to happiness, that happiness, I doubt, is enjoyed in the present world, only by the middle, or the second ranks of the virtuous. That clear and comprehensive knowledge, which the first of our species possess, together with their exquisite sensibility to every thing moral, must be frequently disquieted ; too much
so,

so, in a state of trial, to admit of a very exalted degree of happiness. Such characters, when ripe for heaven, are plucked by the hand of the almighty, though in mercy to mankind they may sometimes be continued upon earth. It is necessary we should now and then have some perfect patterns, lest we should begin to doubt the possibility of virtue.

Farewel, my dear sir, do not let this affliction overwhelm you: the loss we have suffered requires a double exertion. Remember, Jebb could not have lived or died with more honour; that death sets the seal upon every exalted character; and that whatever may become us in the present world, we have nothing to wish for in the next, except that his fate may be ours. I remain, dear sir, as ever,

your's most sincerely,

Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq.

III.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

BY CAPEL LOFFT, ESQ.

ON thursday, March the 2d, died, at his house in Parliament-street, JOHN JEBB, M.D. F.R.S. one of the earliest members of the society for constitutional information; formerly fellow of Peter-house, Cambridge.

Struck with the state of academical discipline, he proposed the liberal and great design of public examination, impartially to include every order of students in the several colleges, and of adequate encouragement to every kind of proficiency. To him, as an individual, no change in the system was necessary for the acquirement of fame: for, while excellence of any kind should be distinguished, his would have a share, ampler than he was ever disposed to claim, in the estimation of the best judges. He was re-
spected

spected as a mathematician; still more as a philosopher; and published, with the assistance of two gentlemen, Messrs. Thorpe and Wollaston, for the use of those who were desirous to proceed in that line, a much-esteemed selection of the “Principia” of Newton; that grand result of sublime geometry, applied to the elements of physics! In his classical taste he was distinguished: his critical learning and abilities were acknowledged even by those who would have wished to have seen them exercised in less free and generous investigation. As a preacher, simplicity, clearness, peculiar power of persuasion; energy; the advantages of voice and manner; judgment, candour, sincerity, sensibility, rendered him worthy to have been heard by an attic audience; worthy to inform, to animate, to possess with the love of truth and goodness, the reason and the hearts of a congregation professing christianity.

His “Discourse on benevolence” will be now particularly recollected by many. It has been re-printed about two years past, by the desire of those who felt the principles
it

it explains, and the conduct it affectionately recommends to be the base of private contentment and of social good. It will probably be again re-printed; since those labours are finished, to which he was impelled by the best and most expansive affections.

But neither present honour, preferment, nor all the inviting hopes the world could offer, were of power to retain him in the church establishment. When his researches had settled a conviction, that he owed a sacrifice to the cause of truth, whatever it might be, he had purity of mind voluntarily to encounter, and constancy to support. High, indeed, he stood amongst the noble asserters of religious liberty: and he was farther destined to be the strenuous, the enlightened defender of civil freedom on its most solid and comprehensive foundations.

In this field of exertion, this island, Ireland, India, America, and wherever else the rights of mankind seemed capable of being aided against fraud or force, were to him the objects of an universal patriotism. The trial by juries, in substance as well as form;

short parliaments ; equalized representation ; unrestricted exercise of the right of suffrage ; these were the securities, the constitutional claims of englishmen, his efforts strove to establish. Far from carving and compromising how much of their liberties should be indulged them, as a favour, he thought full and fair information was to be laid before them ; and themselves to judge and to act upon it. The mode of expressing and of giving effect to their sentiments, which he suggested, may be seen in his “ Letter to the chairman of the Huntingdonshire committee ;” and in subsequent tracts. It was direct, open, peaceful, orderly : and whenever it shall be adopted in the several counties, an effectual and generally-approved reform will be the fruit ; nor can I imagine any other method of uniting the public energy, on clear, consistent, adequate principles, will be found. And the restitution of our own liberties, with improved security, he wished might be prelusive to the establishment of true political freedom in every part of the globe. His benevolent zeal, his eloquence, his unwearied spirit, were exerted in toils
like

like these. No confidence in any party, no admiration of any man's abilities, no opinion even of his virtues, no habits of attachment in politics, no influence of personal friendship, (and of friends he was the tenderest and the warmest) could win his acquiescence to any act of injustice, any deflection from the great and indispensable rules of conduct, whatever were the plea. "In life and death the same;" resolute wholly to resign himself to truth and the public, he lost in these all inferior considerations: incorruptible alike by hope or fear, by the love of praise, or the dread of obloquy: for to him all were light in the scale against any particle of duty.

His application, his sagacity, knowledge, tenderness of attention in his medical profession, might be supported by testimony that would do honour to any man. Not having been designed for it, and having devoted to other duties much the greater part of his life, he entered on the study and practice of physic, with a resolution of using such redoubled and persevering diligence, regardless either of fatigue or hazard to his

health, as should compensate for the circumstance of not having been earlier initiated; and nobly did he accomplish this arduous attempt. But he fell “overpowered by virtuous energies;” rising into the fulness of medical fame, and, what he ever valued most, usefulness to others in their sufferings and dangers.

His anxiety for his patients, and particularly for the poorest, was indescribable: it was of kindred temper to his patriotic solicitude for the welfare of his country.

Thus great, and various, and beneficent, were his talents; thus was he eminent in literature and in science! Of manners unaffected, elegant, engaging, pure. In conversation, the goodness and sweetness of his nature tempered that awe most men must otherwise have felt from the vastness of his abilities, and the sublimity of his virtue. He was amiable, and even pleasant, in familiar intercourse, to a degree of serenity: but of the frivolous, in him there was nothing; and from gross or ill-natured humour he was at the greatest distance: of an heart the most benevolent, the firmest spirit;

spirit; virtue the most active, disinterested, devoted.

A full and accurate delineation of this amiable, elevated, exemplary character, is not for the powers of the writer of this; who, while endeavouring to do justice to his memory, is oppressed by the sense of the event of his long-dreaded departure from us; by his friends long and justly dreaded, for themselves and the community. With regard to him, he took pain, sickness, and death, as he took his other trials, with an equal and grateful mind; as the dispensation of an unerring and kind providence, for a discipline to improvement in goodness. But, with other intimate friends, it is for the person who offers this faint sketch to sorrow in that event: not only as separating (for this life) a friendship incapable of any other interruption; but as a loss to human society. Yet our sorrow is not without hope; it has a glorious interminable prospect!

At present, only these few particulars must be added: that he was born, February the 16th, in the year 1736, and married, December the 29th, 1764, to Miss Torkington,

kington, of Little Stukely, near Huntingdon. Their hearts and understanding were formed for each other.

On the 9th of March his remains were followed, by a numerous attendance of friends to his private and public virtues, to the modest and decent place of their interment*, in ground not assuming to be hallowed by rites of consecration, and near to the spot where Milton breathed his last. I then saw the illustrious appearing with added dignity; every order in the state joining in the spontaneous tribute; distinctions in religion or in party absorbed in more enlarged considerations; Wales, Ireland, America, solemnizing, by the presence of their sons, the obsequies of the equal friend to the rights of mankind through every part of the globe; and every eye and bosom giving an open testimony on the termination of a life devoted to truth, freedom, and every best interest of human society. Could those that mourned at a distance their adviser, friend, and benefactor, be enumerated, what an idea would it present of deep and general regret!

I will

* In Bunhill-fields.

I will close, with hoping that the occasion of this solemnity will excite a lasting and active contemplation of his virtues; and call us from our unavailing, though natural and just regret, to the admiration and praise that must accompany his name, while there is patriotism or sense of goodness upon the earth; and to the idea of that felicity prepared for such faculties, so exerted and improved: and, in so far as the powers severally allotted to us will extend, our best and most useful tribute to his memory must be in the imitation of his conduct. His great rule of action, that “no effort is lost,” will never fail us, while we look to principles regardless of present disappointment.

A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
THEOLOGICAL LECTURES
NOW READING AT CAMBRIDGE.
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A NEW HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

UNUSQUISQUE MAVULT CREDERE, QUAM JUDICARE :
VERSATQUE NOS ET PRÆCIPITAT TRADITUS PER
MANUS ERROR.

SENECA.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXX.
NOW REPRINTED FROM A COPY OF THE
SECOND EDITION, MDCCLXXII.
CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

TO THE
UNIVERSITIES
OF
CAMBRIDGE, OXFORD, AND DUBLIN,
THE FOLLOWING PLAN OF
THEOLOGICAL LECTURES,
REPUBLISHED
PRINCIPALLY WITH A VIEW
TO THE
IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTH
IN
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
IS
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

“ Let no one lightly entertain suspicions of any serious proposal for the advancement of religious knowledge; nor, out of unreasonable prejudice, endeavour to obstruct any inquiry, that professes to aim at the further illustration of the great scheme of the gospel in general, or the removal of error in any part, in faith, in doctrine, in practice, or in worship. An opinion is not therefore false because it contradicts received notions: but, whether true or false, let it be submitted to a fair examination; truth must in the end be a gainer by it, and appear with the greater evidence. Where freedom of inquiry is maintained and exercised under the direction of the sincere word of God, falsehood may perhaps triumph for a day; but to-morrow truth will certainly prevail, and every succeeding day will confirm her superiority.

“ The light, that arose upon the christian world at the reformation, hath still continued to increase, and we trust will ‘ shine more and more unto the perfect day.’ The labours of the learned have from that time, by the blessing of God upon the free exercise of reason and private judgment, been greatly successful in promoting religious knowledge; and particularly, in laying open the hidden treasures of divine wisdom contained in the holy scriptures. Much hath been done in this important work; and much still remains to be done. Those heavenly stores are inexhaustible: every new acquisition still leads on to further discoveries; and the most careful search will still leave enough to invite, and to reward, the repeated searches of the pious and industrious, to the latest ages. This is a work, that demands our first and most earnest regard; the studies and assistance, the favour and encouragement, of all. To confirm and illustrate these holy writings, to evince their truth, to shew their consistency, to explain their meaning, to make them more generally known and studied, more easily and perfectly understood, by all; to remove the difficulties, that discourage the honest endeavours of the unlearned, and provoke the malicious cavils of the half learned: this is the most worthy object, that can engage our attention, the most important end, to which our labours in the search of truth can be directed.”

Visitation sermon preached at Durham, July 27, 1758, by
Robert Lowth, D.D. prebendary of Durham, afterwards
bishop of London.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE author of these papers, ever since the first institution of his scheme, has had frequent occasion to lament, that his endeavours to call the attention of youth to the study of the scriptures, and his asserting of the right of private judgment in the interpretation of them, have been received in a manner very different from what might be expected from men—born to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty—baptized into the communion of a protestant church—and blessed with the opportunities of adding to the possession of these privileges a proper sense of their value, in consequence of their education, and continued residence, at the university of Cambridge.

That confidence, however, with which the uprightness of his intention, and the approbation of many worthy and learned persons had inspired him, enabled him for a time to persevere, regardless of the clamours of his adversaries. But, when he was informed, that a charge of the most invidious nature was solemnly urged, in a manner which was likely to do him great disservice; he no longer was able to refrain from attempting a vindication of himself from those calumnies, with which the untempered zeal of some, otherwise well-disposed brethren, had aspersed his character.

Flattered therefore with the hope of softening the prejudices of some worthy men, who had taken exceptions to his plan, and of deriving from the approbation of great names such a degree of countenance and favour, as might enable him to pursue his design without injury to himself, and with some advantage to the public, he was induced to transmit, in the spring of the year 1770, the following apology and
plan

plan of his lectures, to some persons of eminence in the church.

At present he will only observe, that his efforts were not attended with the desired success. Accusations were every where multiplied against him; which were too much regarded by those, whom the world looks up to with respect: and his endeavours to exculpate himself from the various aspersions, which were thrown upon his character and conduct, were received with evident marks of prejudice, instead of that mild indulgence and dispassionate attention, with which the accused party should be always heard.

Yet these were difficulties and discouragements which were early foreseen, as the too probable consequences of engaging in a scheme, which, if pursued with vigour, might suggest to younger minds suspicions of a real opposition between the precarious doctrines of fallible men, and the absolutely pure and perfect word of the infallible God. And therefore, had the intolerant spirit, which more or less prevails in every human establishment, spent itself in those effusions

of passion and unmanly resentment, to which the author alludes in the preceding paragraph, he would have contented himself with opposing to the force of private slander the strength of private representation and remonstrance. But since some leading characters in the university, by an open and absolute prohibition extending to every student in '*statu pupillari*,' have thought proper to discountenance the author's scheme of lectures in their respective societies; since some other persons, more artful, and therefore less honourable, in their deportment, have, by infusing groundless fears and apprehensions, into the minds of youth, shewn themselves to be equally industrious in the prosecution of such stifling measures: his only resource is the power of appealing to the free and impartial voice of an unprejudiced public. He therefore now submits his vindication and plan, together with the annexed harmony, to their candour and indulgence.*

He

* Since the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, much has been attempted with a view to
damp

He trusts, however, that he has nobler ends in view than those, which are frequently the only inducements to such publications. Long experience has convinced him, that the personal labours of the student are of greater efficacy than the oral instructions of the tutor. If the method of directing those labours, which is pursued in the following plan of lectures, shall in any degree be instrumental towards the promoting of a more perfect understanding of the sacred books of scripture, the author will esteem himself amply recompensed for all his trouble.

The harmony, which is subjoined, was
drawn

damp that rising spirit of free inquiry, which is so essentially necessary to the perfect comprehension of the sacred code. Yet it must also be acknowledged with heartfelt gratitude, and it will ever be remembered with a satisfaction sufficient to compensate for the inconveniences incident to such a contest, that the author's labours have been honoured with the approbation of men, whose piety and learning, whose characters and station, whose zeal for the interests of civil and religious liberty, have rendered them the blessing as well as ornament of the age they live in; and will transmit their well-deserved honours with unfading lustre to the latest times,

drawn up by the author for the use of his pupils. Although he has availed himself of all those assistances, which his situation in the university could afford him, he is sensible, that many parts of it may seem liable to very great objections; which, though obviated in their places to his pupils, must retain their force with other readers; until he has leisure to endeavour their removal, by a fuller explanation of the whole performance.

An ingenious writer of the present age has, in a very masterly manner, delineated the advantages which the cause of christianity hath derived from the writings of its opposers.* It would certainly be a more unpleasing, though perhaps not intirely an useless labour, to point out the injuries, which it has received from the injudicious defences and representations of its friends.†
The

* See 'Dissertations on subjects relating to the genius and the evidences of christianity, by Alexander Gerard, D.D. professor of divinity in the Marischal-college of Aberdeen.'

† It is hoped that something of this kind will appear in the concluding volumes of the 'Institutes of natural and

The violence attendant upon want of unanimity, so visible among the interpreters of certain particular parts of scripture, is the darling objection of our adversaries to the divine authority of the whole. When the partisans of each opinion are united in maintaining, that a just conception of the matter in debate is of the greatest importance; nay, is absolutely necessary to salvation; at the same time, that the weight of argument which they produce in support of their contrary expositions is so equally poised, that the most accurate and dispassionate observer is unable to determine, to which side the balance is disposed to incline: the infidel spectator beholds the endless, and often unchristian, controversy, with an air of insolence and triumph, while
the

and revealed religion;’ a treatise, which Dr. Priestley encourages us shortly to expect.—[This wish of our author has since been executed by Dr. Priestley, for which the reader is referred to his ‘Institutes of natural and revealed religion,’ 2 vols. 8vo. 2 edit. 1782, but more particularly to his ‘History of the corruptions of christianity,’ 2 vols. 8vo. 1782, and to the controversy which followed the publication of that valuable work.]

the friend of virtue and religion retires desponding and disconsolate from the field of contest.

The great Mr. Locke appears to have seen this evil in its strongest point of view. He attempted its cure, and hath in part succeeded. His method of studying the scripture by making it its own interpreter, which has now been adopted by a numerous band of followers, opens to us the fairest prospect of succeeding in our attempts to investigate the real meaning of the sacred writers; at the same time, that his treatise upon the ‘Reasonableness of christianity’ has prevailed with thousands to believe, that in their acknowledgment of the messiahship of Jesus, they hold that fundamental article of faith, which with reason claims the high prerogative—the exclusive privilege of being essentially necessary to our salvation.

The resemblance which the plan of harmonizing the gospels bears to this scheme of Mr. Locke, may with justice be esteemed its greatest praise. Nor is it the least of the many advantages, which may be derived

rived from such a mode of studying the scriptures, that it can be adopted, with almost equal facility, by the english reader.*

A mi-

* It is much to be lamented, that the laity, (many of whom are placed in stations, where the want of a religious principle is as detrimental to the community, as it is uncomfortable and disreputable to themselves,) are in general too apt to take it for granted, that they are altogether unconcerned in, or incompetent judges of the credenda of the gospel. And indeed, they have not unfrequently been informed by authorities they deem respectable, that the practical part of the christian institute should alone engage their attention; and that the discussion of its speculative doctrines should be exclusively the province of the polemical divine. Yet surely, as it must derogate from the moral character of the deity to suppose, that he would authorise his servants to deliver, as of celestial original, any doctrine whatsoever, which has not a close and immediate connection with our practice; so it might with reason be expected, which indeed appears to be the fact, that all the credenda of the gospel should be unfolded with the utmost perspicuity and plainness. The credenda and agenda of our most holy religion, are unquestionably united by an indissoluble bond. An accurate acquaintance with the mystery of godliness, as revealed in the scriptures, leads by a just and necessary progress to the actual performance of every perfect work; the right knowledge of the one true living God, of the instruments employed by him, and the methods of his government in
the

A minute acquaintance with the circumstances of time and place, together with the knowledge of those incidents, which give occasion

the redemption of mankind, are necessary, not only to prevent fatal errors in our moral conduct, but also to influence the man of God—the christian—to be merciful and holy; while the man, who contenting himself with the representation of human duty as delineated in the precepts or even example of his saviour, pushes not onward to the perfection of all christian knowledge, labours not to arrive at a just conception of the whole council of God, will in all probability be found deficient both in principle and practice.

With a view therefore to effect a thorough comprehension of whatever Jesus thought it was of concernment to his followers to know—with an intention to assist the labours of those, who think themselves under an obligation to employ their noblest powers upon their noblest object—with an ardent desire to promote the pious purposes of those instructors of youth in all seminaries of useful learning, who may think it incumbent upon them to dedicate some portion of their attention to the religious principles of their pupils, the author most earnestly and affectionately recommends the execution of the subjoined plan of harmony as exhibited and explained in the following pages of this book. He trusts that it is properly calculated to produce such an acquaintance with the saving words of truth, as will generate, in the mind of the unlearned as well as learned reader, a reasonable and lively expectation of a future state of retribution, and at the same time add vigour

occasion to any discourse, are the best preparatives to the thorough comprehension of it. The harmonies of Macknight, Pilkington,

to each virtuous resolution in the hour of temptation or distress.

It is not denied, nay, it is evidently implied in the subsequent pages, that the aids of criticism, and of the various kinds of human learning, will prove of considerable advantage to those, who are so happy as to possess them; by enabling them to silence the objections of infidelity, and powerfully to inculcate upon the minds of their fellow-citizens, the salutary doctrines of that venerable religion, which in every part and portion of it is reasonable—is important—divine. Yet it may with truth be asserted, that the person, whose acquired abilities reach no farther than to the capacity of reading the english bible, may arrive at a just conception of all those doctrines of the gospel, which are essentially necessary to the perfection of the christian life; without any other assistances, than what may be derived from earnest prayer and sincere endeavours exerted under the direction of that common sense and reason, which distinguishes the race of men from the rest of the animal world.

Nor would the author have it imagined, that he is so far carried away with the idea, which, however, he has adopted upon the recommendation of some of the wisest of men, as to suppose, that the most salutary effects might not be produced by a discreet use of the labours of those worthy and eminently learned persons, who have employed their natural and acquired powers in the study and explanation of the word of God. He
flatters

kington, Le Clerc, and Doddridge, are excellent in their way; but the circumstance, which constitutes their greatest merit in one respect, may perhaps appear to be no inconsiderable objection in another: by leaving nothing for the active industry of their readers to perform, they fail in impressing upon the mind a circumstantial history of the life of Jesus.

The author of these papers will with pleasure attend to the correcting voice of every candid examiner of his scheme: he will, with gratitude, acknowledge their assistance; will exert every faculty in his power, that his own continued labours, improved by their communications, may hereafter render it more worthy of the public approbation.

flatters himself however, that, in one particular, the method here proposed has an advantage peculiar to itself. If other modes of study be adopted, the streams which flow from the sacred fountains of evangelical truth may possibly be polluted by the foul and impoisoned currents of human inventions. But in the scheme of harmonizing the gospels, and of interpreting them by references to parallel places, the waters of life will remain ever pure and untainted; or, without a metaphor, we may be said to make use of an infallible comment in the explanation of an infallible text.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
THEOLOGICAL LECTURES, &c.

TO HIS GRACE THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY*.

MY LORD,

THE active zeal of the bishop of Gloucester† has made it unnecessary for me to inform you—that I have been charged with holding opinions of the most dangerous tendency, opinions which strike at the very foundations of religion and morality:—and

That I have been represented as professedly endeavouring to overturn the established religion of this country, by inculcating upon the minds of my pupils a set
of

[* Dr. Cornwallis. † Dr. Warburton.]

of doctrines, in opposition to those which have received the sanction of ecclesiastical authority.

With respect to the former part of the charge, my method of vindication must be, solemnly to disavow the most material of those opinions, which have without foundation been imputed to me; and to declare, that, when properly called upon, I am always ready to explain my sentiments, upon any other points of doctrine, provided the charge shall be stated with any tolerable degree of precision.

The second article of the charge may best be obviated by a faithful, accurate, and properly authenticated delineation of my method of instruction.

The two most material of those opinions, which I have been charged with maintaining, relate to the immaculate conception* of Jesus, and the doctrine of free-will.

With

* The reader will be pleased to recollect, that these terms have always hitherto been supposed to relate to a controversy of a very different kind: however, as they constitute the most decent of those forms of expression, in which the calumny was propagated, it was thought proper to retain them.

With respect to the first, I had no occasion to mention, nor do I remember that I ever did make use of the expression. The circumstances of our saviour's birth naturally come to be considered in my notes on the last seven verses of the first chapter of St. Matthew; and as I set out with the idea, that every relation in the scripture-history is strictly true, it is impossible that I could, with any consistency, admit a doubt, whether the conception of Jesus were supernatural or not. And, in fact, I have always maintained, and am in myself persuaded, that his conception was altogether miraculous. I suppose the calumny arose from my having said, that the account, given by the evangelists of this conception, could not with propriety be urged by the apostles, as a proof of the messiahship of Jesus; but that Jesus's messiahship being first established by the proper evidence of miracles, and the accomplishment of other prophecies, the belief of his miraculous conception follows of course; as we have, in evidence of this fact, the authority of those, whom heaven would

not have supported in the propagation of a falsehood. Dr. Clarke in a sermon upon christmas-day has said the same.

The second opinion, which I have been charged with maintaining, relates to the doctrine of free-will. And here I will beg leave to observe, that the mention of this subject was foreign to the design of these lectures; nor do I remember, that during all the courses I have given, I have ever entered upon it unless once incidentally. I indeed have always cautiously avoided such subjects; as one great aim of my lectures was entirely to banish from the study of divinity, those physical and metaphysical speculations, which have too long obscured and disgraced it. I believe I can unfold the rise also of this calumny. I have often in private company, with the freedom of a philosopher, discussed this question. I have, as moderator in the public schools, when any thesis, which bore an evident relation to this subject, was disputed upon, frequently called the attention of our young men to this celebrated matter of debate, and possibly may have appeared to be a
little

little inclined to the system of Hartley and of Locke; but I have always maintained, and am most seriously persuaded, that man is a moral agent, in the strictest sense of those words—that he is a creature responsible for his actions both to God and man; a position, which I apprehend is sufficient for all the purposes of religion. I am so far from being singular in my opinion upon this subject; that I have never, in my most private thoughts, gone beyond what bishop Butler has, with great reputation, expressed in print.

In order the more satisfactorily to answer the second part of the charge, it may be proper to give a short account of my own method in the study of the scriptures; as the plan, according to which I proceeded when gaining information, may throw some light on the account I am about to give of my manner of communicating it.

Upon reading the preface to Mr. Locke's comment upon the epistles, I was struck with his representation of the advantages which might be expected to arise from a course of study upon the plan he recommended;

mended; and was particularly delighted with the idea of making scripture its own interpreter.

I had the good fortune also early to have conceived an high opinion of Le Clerc; who soon convinced me of the expediency of harmonizing the different histories of the four evangelists.

My first scheme therefore was to construct for myself an harmony of the gospels, by the assistance of Macknight, Benson, Lamy, and Le Clerc.

Schmidiu's Concordance enabled me to put in execution the method of interpretation proposed by Mr. Locke; and to arrive at some conception of the scripture phraseology, and highly figurative language, which more or less prevails through every part of the book.

My other assistances were chiefly selected from the relations of the most approved travellers into the eastern countries, such as Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, from the books of the old Testament, and from those authors, whose writings tended to explain the rites, ceremonies, language, expectations,

expectations, and principles of all sects, and parties, in the gospel times.

In the last place, I availed myself of the labours of the most celebrated commentators, with regard to all points of critical and grammatical inquiry.

With respect to opinions, previously to my course of critical inquiry into the word of God, I endeavoured to obliterate all predilection in favour of those, which I had before admitted without due examination; those doctrines, speculative or practical, which now appear to me in the light of gospel verities, I permitted to arise, as natural and unbidden consequences from the general course of my reading in the scriptures.

As it appeared absurd to suppose, that the same passage could in fact admit of various senses, I was contented when I had found that one, which, from the consideration of its connexion with the other parts of the discourse, appeared to be the meaning of the speaker, and, consequently, seemed to be that very sense, in which he would have wished to be understood.

I reflected, that from the circumstances of this revelation—from the design including as its object all mankind—from the character and conduct of the persons preaching it, it could not be the intention of the sacred writers to be unintelligible in any instance whatsoever; but, on the contrary, I concluded, that it was their design to express whatever points of doctrine were necessary for us to know, in the simplest, plainest terms; and that, if they could have chosen a mode of speaking, more likely to be understood by the persons to whom they addressed themselves, they would certainly have used it.

I therefore sat down to this study with a full persuasion, that I should find no difficulties, except such, as might naturally be expected to be met with in the history of transactions, wherein the actors are so differenced from us, in the circumstances of situation, climate, customs, language, and laws.

Upon experience, I found that I was not mistaken; and it appeared to require nothing more than common industry and
honesty,

honesty, together with a tolerable share of understanding, in order fully to comprehend, whatever is of importance for us to know, of those matters, which are contained in the word of God.

In this manner, I employed some years of incessant study, upon the scriptures of the old and new Testament. I have from thence deduced a system of faith and practice: I have established myself in the full assurance of the truth and importance of revelation.

The satisfaction I received from a critical inquiry into the original records of our faith, and the desire I have to be useful in my generation, joined with some less disinterested though not dishonourable motives, have induced me to offer my assistance to others in the same pursuit.

In the course of this employment, I have not been anxiously desirous to inculcate the same system of faith and practice, which appeared to me to be most reasonable. I have rather made it my endeavour, that those gentlemen, who favoured me with their attendance, should be
provided

provided with proper materials for striking out a system of faith and practice for themselves. And to this end, I exhorted them to study the scriptures with the same industry, and freedom from prejudices of every sort; which I am conscious of having exercised in my own inquiries.

If the consequence has been, that the train of ideas, arising in the minds of my pupils from such an inquiry—that the conclusions drawn from such a review, do not agree in every instance with what the same scriptures seemed to suggest in the time of our great reformers; the fact may be accounted for from the superior advantages, which the present age may draw from the labours of many learned men, who have arisen since that period; and from a variety of other sources, which must crowd upon the mind of every candid thinking person, without having recourse to the odious and groundless supposition of my professedly inculcating a set of opinions, in opposition to the doctrines of the established church.

EXPLANATION OF MY METHOD.

The paper published in the university, with the intire consent, and approbation of the vice-chancellor, was to the following effect.

“ On Monday, 21 Nov. 1768, will begin a course of lectures, critical and explanatory, on the four gospels, by the reverend Mr. Jebb.”

To these propofals I have steadily adhered.

My INTRODUCTORY LECTURE consists chiefly of the following heads. Observations on the state of the text—history of the most remarkable manuscripts now in being—use of versions, and writings of the fathers in settling the greek text—upon the division into chapters—into verses—of the rise and benefit of concordances—Stephens—Schmadius. Of the name *διαθηκη*—which always signifies covenant, though often improperly translated testament—the nature and ceremonies of some ancient covenants explained.—*Διαθηκη* stands for the covenant with Noah, Genesis vi. 18.

Septuag.

Septuag.—with Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. —with Israel, Exod. xxiv. 8. —for the covenant between God and man in Christ, Matt. xxvi. 28.—Heb. ix. 17. explained according to the same idea—scripture sense of the word *μυσηριον*—short account of the writers of the gospel, and in what instances inspired.

THE SECOND LECTURE.

The genealogies in Matthew and Luke compared—the former the genealogy of Joseph, the latter proved to be that of Mary.—probable reasons for the insertion of Joseph's genealogy.—explanation of the name *Χριστος*, with notes critical and explanatory on the words *ἐνρεθῇ—δικαιος—παράδειγματισαί—σωσεῖ—πνεύματος—ἐπισκιάσει*, &c. in the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st verses of the first chapter of St. Matthew; and in the first chapter of St. Luke, from the 26th to the 29th verse.

THE THIRD LECTURE.

Observations on the method of quoting the old Testament by the writers of the new.

new.—critical and explanatory notes on the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, *Εμμανουὴλ*, in the four last verses of Matthew the 1st.—explanation of the seventh, and of part of the eighth chapter of Isaiah, introduced in notes upon the word *παρθενός*.

THE FOURTH LECTURE.

Critical and explanatory notes on the words *Βηθλεεμ*, *Ἡρώδης*, *μαγοί*, *τεχθεις*, *ασερα*, *προσκυνησαι*, *αρχιερεεις*, *ἡγεμοσιν*, *προσηνεγκαν*, &c. in the first eleven verses of the second chapter of St. Matthew.

This method is pursued through every verse of the twenty eight chapters of St. Matthew—the first and second chapters of St. Luke—the first, third, sixth, and seventeenth chapters of St. John; and of such other smaller selected portions of the gospels, as seemed most to stand in need of illustration. My whole course consists of eight and forty lectures; of these, the first forty chiefly contain critical expositions of the most remarkable passages in the aforesaid chapters. The six next in order contain the most important speculative and
prac-

practical inferences, deduced, by what appears to me a just analysis, from the parts of the gospels commented upon in the preceding lectures. The course closes with two lectures on the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians : in which, every verse is paraphrased and commented upon ; the expectations of mankind, relating to a future state, as deducible from the light of nature, are inquired into ; the deficiency of the ancient doctrine, in point of universality and evidence, when compared with the christian's hope, is particularly pointed out ; and that hope is placed upon its just and only proper foundation, the RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

This is the course pursued, while the gentlemen are with me ; the method of studying, recommended to be practised by themselves in private, still remains to be described.

A paper, of which the annexed table is a specimen, is given every day to each : the use they make of it is as follows. They read in the greek Testament, explained by Dr. Clarke's, or any other approved paraphrase,

phrase, the three first verses of Matthew III, the four first verses of Mark I, the six first verses of Luke III, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the 1st chapter of St. John. They consider these as the accounts given by four different persons of the same transaction.

Matt. III.	Mark I.	Luke III.	John I.
1—4	1—5	1—7	6—9
4—5	6—7		
5—7	5—6		
7—11		7—10	
		10—15	
		15—16	
11—13	7—9	16—18	
13—16	9—10		
16—.	10—12	21—23	
			15—16

From these four accounts they form one paragraph, which they set down upon a ruled

ruled sheet of paper in somewhat of the following manner.

‘ In conformity to the ancient prophecies, and authorized by an express revelation, John the baptist appears in the wilderness of Judea, preaching repentance, and proclaiming the approach of the messiah’s kingdom.’ — — —

Matt. III.	Mark I.	Luke III.	John I.
1—4	1—5	1—7	6—9

They then proceed to the second line of my paper—form the contents of that line into a second paragraph, which they transcribe into the ruled sheet of paper, as before, with the references at the end of the last line of their account. From thence they go forward to the third line; and so on till the whole be finished, consisting of as many paragraphs, as there are lines of references. This employment generally requires two hours each day, in order to its being completed in the proper manner. They each receive about forty four of these papers; the contents of which, drawn out at length, give an intire history (consisting
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sometimes of many folio pages) of the life and doctrines of Jesus, in their own words. The execution of this plan, over and above the immediate advantage arising from the acquaintance, which it produces with all the circumstances of importance contained in the gospels, may also be converted to many other useful purposes in the future course of their reading. If any doubts occur, relating to the propriety of the order of events observed in my Harmony, they are proposed, and considered, in the lecture of the succeeding day.

They also take down those references to texts of scripture, which relate to the words commented upon, while they are with me. These they dilate into notes, and observations of their own : which I recommend to be transcribed into an interleaved testament. This last employment sometimes engages their attention for two hours more each day.

These engagements, together with the time they are with me, frequently amount to near six hours a day, employed in actual study of the scriptures.

If any difficulty arises, in their researches, in one evangelist, I advise them first to inquire, by the help of their harmony, whether another evangelist has not treated upon the same subject; and if so, to make use of them as mutual interpreters of each other. If the difficulty still remains, I advise them to consult a concordance; and diligently to investigate the senses in which the word, or combination of words, is understood in other parts of scripture. If they are not yet satisfied, (as some rite or custom may be alluded to,) I refer them to Josephus, Philo, Lightfoot, or such other books, both ancient and modern, which treat of jewish laws and customs: and as their last resource, they are directed to the commentators, or to Poole's synopsis; but I advise, that these should not be consulted, until they have attempted, and found fruitless every other method of interpretation.

In the consideration of those texts, which have been brought in proof of certain doctrines, I do not depart from my printed proposals, either professedly to controvert,

or

or defend those doctrines : I endeavour to investigate the plain, the natural meaning of the passages which lie before us : and as I am persuaded, that each expression of the evangelist has an interpretation appropriated to itself alone, I contend, that, if the sense which I point out be just, all other senses must be either false, or nothing to the purpose. However, in important cases, I am careful to observe, that many worthy persons of the greatest name have been of a different opinion from myself. I recommend the approved rules of sound criticism as the safest guides : I urge the necessity of guarding against the fallies of imagination—the affectation of singularity—the restless desire of debate ; and point out the advantages of, and the most likely means of attaining, a sober judgment : and, as the best security against the danger of a perpetual uncertainty and a fatal scepticism, I recommend a state of temporary suspension ; till all the proper helps and arguments are collected, and considered with an impartiality and diligence, proportioned to the importance of the subject. I observe

to them, that I, who am no more than a single person in the controversy, have but a single voice in its decision; yet, as born to the use of reason and to the enjoyment of religious liberty, I claim the right of private judgment. And, as I would not trespass on the freedom of inquiry in another, I only request the same indulgence for myself. More than this, cannot be expected from a lecturer upon the gospels, by the most zealous advocate for established notions: less cannot be done by a faithful expounder of the scriptures.

From the account here given of my lectures, it will doubtless appear; that I have not made it professedly my aim to shew the consonancy of our articles with the words and sense of scripture. But I trust, it will be apparent, that I have endeavoured to do more; that I have laboured to explain—establish—and recommend to the love and esteem of youth, that complete, that glorious system of faith and morals, which is the only proper foundation of every church in christendom. In a word, I have endeavoured carefully to explore the sense of the scriptures,

scriptures, by availing myself of those assistances, which the wise and learned in every age have declared to be the most likely means of attaining to the knowledge of their contents; and have honestly communicated to all, who have honoured me with their attendance, the same means of information, which I have found to be of service in my own case. At the close of my lectures, I give a plan for reading the remaining parts of the new Testament: I recommend the same mode of procedure in the acts and the epistles, as far as it can be applied, which I pursued in the gospels: and, as assistances, advise the perusal of those authors, who have so happily completed the scheme of Mr. Locke.*

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Upon

* The authors here alluded to are, Taylor, Benson, Hallett, Peirce, and Sykes. The History of the planting of christianity by Benson, may be perused with great advantage, while the student is engaged in reading the acts of the apostles. Every work of Taylor is highly to be esteemed: his Paraphrase and comment upon the Romans is invaluable. Sykes is eminently useful on the Hebrews: and Lowman has given us an excellent comment upon the Revelation of St. John.

With respect to the external evidences of christianity, it may be observed, that the works of the very learned
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Upon every opportunity, I take occasion to observe, that the great ends of religion are, to generate right affections—to regulate the practise—to reform the heart—to inspire us with worthy notions of the Almighty, and with love to God and man. I exhort and encourage all my younger hearers to proceed with diligence and alacrity in these useful studies; by representing to them, that it is the duty of us all, each for himself, to inquire into the word of God, as far as his abilities, and necessary occupations will allow. I recommend to them an attention to reason, and to argument, on whatever side or party found. And I labour to persuade them, that

and ingenious Dr. Lardner are calculated to produce a firm persuasion of the truth of those historical facts, which form the foundation of the christian institution: and that the incomparable treatise upon miracles, lately published by the truly respectable Mr. Farmer, cannot be read without some good effect by the most determined adversary to revelation. Oswald's appeal to common sense in behalf of religion, and Beattie upon the immutability of truth, have an immediate tendency to promote that rational conviction, which evidences itself by its effects on the life and conversation of the true believer.

that whatever opinions they may embrace, in consequence of an honest, humble, diligent, and impartial, study of the scripture, should they be erroneous, they will not in them be attended with the general guilt of error.

Thus I have unfolded with great truth, and sincerity, the whole of my process in these lectures. I should be happy in the approbation of the friends of reason and religion ; and it has given me pain to find, that some justly respectable characters have conceived of me as an enemy to both.

N. B. The original paper, as far as relates to the explanation of the author's plan, was attested as an accurate delineation of his method, by the signatures of six gentlemen of established character and considerable standing in the university, who had honoured these lectures with their attendance.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

In the middle of November, 1771, the following letter appeared in the White-hall Evening-post.

THE opposition, which a certain lecturer in the university of Cambridge has met with for three years past, is of so extraordinary a nature, that many persons are desirous of seeing it accounted for, upon principles consistent with strict protestantism, or even with common equity. It does not appear, from any evidences afforded either to the university or the public,* that
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* Three sermons preached by the rev. Dr. Samuel Hallifax in the university church, have been published at the request of the vice-chancellor, and some of the heads of colleges, since the insertion of this expostulatory address in the public papers. In these discourses are contained some expressions, which have been supposed to insinuate a charge, that the lecturer hath departed from the sacred line of duty, in the execution of his design: but as the necessary evidence, has not as yet been laid before the university, or the public, the lecturer thinks, that notwithstanding the doctor's publication,

the lecturer has, in a single instance, deviated from his original proposals, during the course of his reading critical and explanatory lectures upon the gospels. The public are in possession of his plan; and a person of high dignity in the church, of an attested paper, signifying the lecturer's faithful execution of that plan.

The following queries are therefore submitted

tion, he is authorised to retain the mode of expression adopted in the advertisement. The doctor has thought proper to point out the rev. Dr. Priestley, without any ambiguities, as an object of his reprehension; should he, in some future edition of his sermons, condescend to honour the lecturer with a similar kind of notice; should he, at any time, disclaiming the ungenerous artifices of a disguised adversary, and with the spirit of a real friend to the interests of religion, directly and explicitly apply the accusation of using undue arts to mislead the rising generation, to the lecturer's character and conduct, and attempt to support it by the proper evidences, a direct and circumstantial answer will immediately be returned to his charge.

[No notice was taken by Dr. Hallifax of this open and manly engagement of the lecturer to defend himself against the malignant and invidious designs of his adversaries, who continued to throw their mischievous shafts in every shape,—without remorse or shame.]

mitted to the consideration of the persons concerned.

1. What arguments can be urged to prove, that the lecturer should not be permitted to proceed, absolutely unmolested, in the execution of his design, as expressed in his proposals?

2. Have not many young gentlemen of the university been dehorted and discouraged from attending the lecturer; and hath not this very lately been the case in colleges, wherein there is no opportunity of seeking elsewhere for instruction?

3. Hath not the lecturer declared, both by letter, and in person, to several dignitaries in the church, that he will desist from reading lectures himself in the university, provided a regular course of lectures in the gospels should be read, once each year, in every college, by the persons to whose department such duty more immediately belongs?

4. Hath he not, at the same time that he exculpates the tutors of the university, with respect to an omission, so often pathetically lamented, pointed out to persons
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of authority and influence, the original fountain of the evil, and the proper method of removing it?

5. Hath any satisfactory answer been returned to such remonstrances?

To these queries, the lecturer now begs leave to subjoin the following declaration.

As he is fully satisfied, that an attempt to revive the languishing study of the sacred writings in one of the most celebrated universities in Europe is an undertaking deserving of all encouragement; he is persuaded, that his efforts, though opposed by the whole force of the spiritual powers, will in due time be attended with success. He therefore declares it to be his fixed intention, calmly to pursue his determined course, regardless of the menaces of that interested opposition, which would shake him from his purpose; but at the same time, actuated with a sincere desire to remove the prejudices of every worthy man, who may have misconceived of his design. And, that as with respect to matters of smaller importance, his temper is naturally open and unreserved; so

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in an affair of such high concernment as religion, it is probable he will always, during the course of his public labours in the gospel, declare what appears to him to be the truth of God, without any apprehension of the resentment of man. Yet, that he may not appear obstinately attached to any one particular mode of instruction, or be suspected of being in the least degree disposed to aim at establishing, by undue arts, any favourite opinions of his own, in the place of those which have received the sanction of law; he now publicly and with all solemnity declares, that whenever CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY LECTURES ON THE GOSPELS, continued daily for the course of seven successive weeks,* shall be annually read in each society, at any season † which

* This appears to the author to be the least portion of time, in which such a design can be effectually executed: his reasons are founded upon his own experience and practice, as delivered in the preceding pages of this book.

† The proper season for the execution of that plan of lectures, which is here recommended, must be determined in a great measure upon a consideration of the different

which shall be judged most proper, he will placidly resign his present laborious office and employment into the hands of abler
and

different views of the students who resort to us for instruction.

The students at our universities may be classed with propriety into various divisions, according to their rank and expectations, their abilities and standing; but at present we will consider them either in the light of persons, who are intended to be trained up in such a course of academical learning, as may qualify them for the due discharge of the sacred functions of the ministry; or suppose them to be sent thither, in order that they may imbibe that liberal spirit, and be confirmed in those habits of just reasoning, which are the natural consequences of an early acquaintance with the sciences, and are equally an ornament and advantage in every rank and profession of life.

As the students of the latter class frequently leave us before they have accomplished the residence required for the first academical degree; the season of religious instruction, might, in their case, with propriety be fixed at some time, near the close of the second year from their admission.

It cannot be supposed, that our youth, however independent may be their situation, however elevated their prospects, will be averse from pursuing any course of study, which comes recommended to them by proper authority or advice. But a question may arise, whether such an institution would redound to the ad-
vantage

and less exceptionable men; or, in other words, when he shall have succeeded in his design

vantage of the student himself, or be conformable to the intentions of those, who, by nature or positive appointment, are intrusted with his education. He is sent to these seminaries, it may be said, not with a design, that he should employ his most valuable hours in the investigation of the abstruser points of theological controversy; but rather with a view to acquire that general kind of knowledge, which may prepare him for an able and honourable discharge of his duty, whatever be the station in which he may be hereafter placed.

As this is an objection, which may possibly be esteemed of weight; we will consider it with some degree of attention :

It will conduce much to the settling of this matter, if we begin with a proper idea of the question itself. It may be stated as follows. Whether it be prudent or desirable, that the noble and ingenuous youth, who resort to us for instruction in those various kinds of knowledge which are taught in these seminaries of useful learning, should be also principled in that religion, which was revealed from heaven—in that religion, which is established by sanctions, that form a part of the political institutions of their country—in that religion, which if professed and practised in its primæval purity, would, exclusively of its more important consequences hereafter to individuals, be productive of security, tranquility, and happiness, to all communities of men.

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design of effectually calling forth the labours of others, he will cease from his own.

It is hoped, for the honour of our nobility—for the honour of our commonalty—for the honour of our clergy,—and more particularly for the honour of our universities, that there are not many, even in these times, who would chuse openly to intimate a doubt, whether religion (which, after all that the philosophers and moralists have said with respect to its uncertainties and corruptions, has an undoubted claim to be the guide of human life) should be instilled into the minds of youth, before the important scene of action commences, which calls for its effects in the performance of every just and honourable deed.

If there be any who shall assert, that an early acquaintance with the rudiments of the christian faith—that an education, which tends to imprint upon the yielding mind the salutary doctrines of the gospel, is not an object worthy of academical attention; they must be strangers to that faith, and mistake for religion pure and undefiled, that motley mixture of superstition and enthusiasm, which has so long usurped its venerable name. Too often indeed, has her fair and spotless form been confounded with the offspring of political invention; with the reproach of priesthood; with the dread of fools: but true religion, though it confirms the subject in obedience to the magistrate, is not the offspring of political device; though it teaches the creature to bow down with humblest reverence in the house of prayer, is not the invention of the interested priest; though it frequently alarms the minds of mortal men with supernumerary horrors, is not the child of
fantastic

fantastic superstition, nor ingendered by wild enthusiasm or the dæmon of despair.

In the circles of the gay and thoughtless, religion is too often treated with aversion or contempt; but injuriously and ungratefully do they reflect upon this last best gift of God to man, when they represent her as a friend to gloom and melancholy, an enemy to social joy. Whereas the countenance of true religion is always placid and serene; she poureth forth the choicest blessings of the Almighty upon man, and arms our souls with patience, faith, and holy hope. “ Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.”

But in order that we may place in the most striking point of view, the necessity of such an institution, as we have been now contending for; let us endeavour more fully to delineate the intrinsic excellence, and beneficial tendencies of that religious system, which, from an entire conviction of its general utility and celestial original, we earnestly and with confidence recommend to the serious attention of the british youth.

The voice then of true religion first calls upon us to look round upon the face of that earth, which is our present habitation. She points to the wonderful care of nature in the formation of every plant and flower, which diversifies its surface. She suggests to us the contemplation of the still more numerous uses, for which each plant and flower springs up, and withers, and decays. How each contributes to the being and enjoyment of the innumerable species of living creatures, with which every element is filled: how each and all conduce to the satisfaction of nature’s fairest produce, the rational mind; and finally leads us to conclude, that these infinitely varied objects of sight, of smell, and touch, are not the effect of wayward chance; but owe
their

their origin to ONE almighty ever-living God, who first formed them from nothing by his creative voice, and now supports them in existence by the word of his power: that, though numerous as the sands of the shore, they are all the produce of one mighty being, of one everlasting parent of all good.

The voice of true religion also calls upon us to observe the methods of God's providence, the nature of that administration, with which he rules among the sons of men.

The voice of true religion, lastly, calls upon us, from the knowledge of our maker, from the knowledge of his providence, to deduce the still more important knowledge of our duty.

Religion therefore is a sublimer kind of skill in the œconomy of human life.

A man is esteemed wise and prudent, if he manages his temporal concerns in such a manner, as to gain the greatest quantity of real enjoyment from those scenes, which now are passing with such quick succession in our sight.

He is certainly religious, if his conduct be such as affords the most reasonable prospect of his being happy throughout the whole of his existence, of which the present life of man forms but an inconsiderable part.

Religion has been supposed only to flourish in the convent. It is the only place, in which it cannot possibly subsist.

Religion has been supposed by its very nature, to be excluded from the more active scenes of social life. It is in the active scenes of social life, where alone religion can be found.

A sound judgment is esteemed creditable to the possessor,

feffor, and advantageous to all who live beneath its influence. Religion is productive and perfective of that judgment: through her we form a proper estimate of every object, which agitates our passions, and influences the desires of our hearts: she teaches us to distinguish between the mimic blaze, which plays around the head of falsehood, and that steady lustre, which beams resplendent from the face of truth.

Knowledge is pleasing to the human mind. It is delightful in the moment of acquisition, it is valuable for its use; religion is the perfection of all knowledge. It not only points out the source and origin of those secret powers, which with irresistible energy urge on the movements of this vast material frame; but also shews, that almighty power, that consummate wisdom, that unlimited beneficence and mercy direct and regulate the moral world. A conviction, which immediately tends to the production of the solid substance of piety and virtue; a persuasion, surely consolatory in the hour of distress, animating and exhilarating amidst the festivity of sober joy.

Should infidelity object, “Do we not see man growing
 “ up like a flower; and like a flower withering beneath
 “ the blast of heaven, gradually decay; until at length
 “ with an intire privation of thought and consciousness,
 “ he drops into the tomb;” should she exalt her voice,
 “ and cry, where is now the boast of reason, the expected
 “ reward of doing well, the continual feast of conscience,
 “ the everlasting fruit of virtue?” Religion calmly shall
 reply, and full conviction will accompany her words,
 “ The moral perfections of the soul, the virtues of the
 “ rational mind, touched by the rude hand of death,
 “ may perhaps, like the flower of the evening, close for
 “ a time their yet imperfect forms; but, the gloomy
 “ night

“ night and darkness of the grave shall quickly pass,
 “ the morning of the resurrection shall arrive; they
 “ shall then expand their fragrant blossoms beneath
 “ the influence of brighter suns, and flourish in the pos-
 “ session of an eternal day.”

If the knowledge of religion be thus efficacious in forming, influencing, and animating every nobler power and affection of our nature; instruction in that gospel, which tends to generate, and inculcate a proper sense of it upon the mind, should, without a doubt, form a distinguished part in every perfect plan of education.

And this on account of the transcendent excellency of the religion, which is contained in that gospel.

For, as the religion of nature calls us to the contemplation of the wonders of creation, that in them we may seek our great creator, and having found him, adore him with a reasonable service; the religion of the gospel most powerfully invites us to consider the surpassing wonders of his goodness, that we may love him, and rise to a participation of his joy.

The religion of the gospel describes each public and private virtue with all simplicity and plainness; and at the same time, with that majestic and affecting eloquence, which with irresistible energy captivates the soul. Instruction in the religion of the gospel, will therefore tend to form the manners of the monarch, the statesman, the father, and the friend.

And if there be reasonable ground for our belief, that the event will verify the most important article of the christian faith: If our hope be justly founded, that some future day shall behold us rising from the bed of death, shall behold us bursting from the gloomy darkness of the grave, to the enjoyment of an everlasting

light of life; the religion of the gospel, being thus suited to the circumstances of all men, demands the early attention of all, whatever be that rank or situation, in which the over-ruling providence of God hath placed them.

Although therefore it be granted, that the calling the attention of youth to the intricacies of theological controversy would be unprofitable and unwise; because it might prevent them from engaging in those useful and manly studies, which are more adapted to their rank and prospects; yet surely it must be allowed, that a few weeks application to the pure and perfect word of God would be highly beneficial to them; as it would tend to confirm them in that just and honourable practice without which, titles and distinctions are less than empty sounds.

With respect to that class of students in our universities, whose views are directed to the church, there is surely no occasion that any thing be said, to shew the propriety, and even necessity, of an early application to the study of that religion, which, in consequence of their profession, they will hereafter be called upon to preach to the people committed to their charge.

As an academical degree is generally esteemed one of the requisite qualifications, for admission into the ministry; the most suitable season for attending a course of lectures on the gospels, will in this case be immediately subsequent to the time of their commencing bachelors of arts. The understanding of the pupil informed by science, his judgment matured by habits of reflection, his spirit of inquiry roused into activity, in consequence of having successfully explored the regions of mathematical and philosophical truth, will at this time

time happily co-operate with the tutor's instructions; while the rising ambition of distinguishing himself in his profession will inspire him with the desire of laying deep and sure, what ought to be esteemed the firm foundations of his future eminence in the church.

Nor let it be objected, that the expences attendant upon a university education are already so great, that the unavoidable augmentation of them in consequence of a longer residence in college, will be received by the friends of youth with murmuring and discontent.

It is not to be supposed that there is a father in England, who would object even to a quarter's prolongation of residence, when the advantage proposed is instruction in that science, which may shortly become his son's immediate profession.

The bishops themselves, when the apprehensions of heresy and of a repeal of the laws requiring subscription are out of the question, are the loudest in complaining of the gross ignorance of academical youth with respect to theological knowledge, and of their utter insufficiency for the performance of that sacred office, which requires a preparation commensurate to the acknowledged importance of the trust. Yet we have never heard, that they have recommended or encouraged, at either of the universities, an attention to that species of knowledge, which if assiduously cultivated would effectually remove this reproach. Perhaps the name of archbishop Secker should be excepted; upon whose advice and encouragement, the present divinity professor at Oxford hath instituted a course of theological lectures, according to a plan which has been lately offered

to the public; * a course, which, though it evidences the consummate learning of the very worthy professor, must unavoidably fail in attracting any considerable degree of the pupil's attention ; and also tends to the discouragement of that generous principle of free inquiry, without which, all researches into the scriptures, at so early a time of life, will be entered upon with dissatisfaction and disgust. With a view perhaps to a similar institution at Cambridge, the rev. Dr. Porteus, at the time of the commencement 1767, preached an admirable sermon in the university church. In the year 1768, the author, without the encouragement or suggestion of any person whatsoever, entered upon his present course of lectures; which, from the time of their first institution to the present moment, have been uniformly opposed by the majority of the heads of houses, and almost every prelate who has the least connection with the place. Let the plan proposed in these papers be compared with that of the Oxford professor, and the reason of such opposition may probably appear ; at least, every intelligent layman must perceive, that the youth, who is formed upon the model of the Oxford mode of instruction, will in all probability dutifully acquiesce in that system of opinions, which, being first fabricated by a few of the priesthood in the ages of comparative darkness, soon received the sanction of ecclesiastical authority, and is now unhappily confirmed by the law of the land:

while

[* See " Reflections upon the study of divinity. To which are subjoined heads of a course of lectures. By Edward Bentham, D. D. King's professor of divinity in Oxford." 8vo. 1771.]

while the student in the gospels, though under the most vigilant direction, might be disposed to wish, or perhaps hereafter to aim at introducing a more striking resemblance between the religion of his country, and the absolutely pure and perfect word of the invariable God.

These considerations, united with his own experience, have induced the author to conjecture, that the bishops of the church of England have objections to the study of the scriptures, under any form or direction, of a like nature with those, which were known to have haunted their papal predecessors: that, as in former times, the pontifical powers seemed apprehensive, that, an inquiry into the operations of nature might shake down the philosophy of Moses, their lordships are alarmed, lest a mode of investigation, which succeeded so happily when the works of God were the subject, might, if resolutely pursued in the case of his word, prove fatal to that system of theological opinions, which, for certain reasons not proper to be discussed upon the present occasion, they now so strenuously uphold.

It has been objected, as an argument against adopting the plan which is recommended in these papers, that the emoluments, annexed to the office of university tutors, are at present too small to induce them to enter upon additional labours, which in the lecturer's example they have seen so unhandsomely requited. This objection is acknowledged to be of some weight; but then it should seem to be the duty of the bishops to encourage a persuasion in the minds of the tutors, that an attention to the advancement of christian knowledge in their respective societies would recommend

them to the favour of their ecclesiastical superiors. Their lordships have frequently interfered in matters of a less momentous concern: and therefore it would not be to their discredit to employ their authority and influence (which have never been more extensive in the universities than at present) in rousing the attention of those learned bodies, to the study of the almost antiquated word of God. Their dependants would soon follow their example; men, who have laid themselves under a kind of obligation of doing something themselves by their zeal in opposing or obstructing what others have attempted, would eagerly seize the opportunity, and vindicate their characters from that reproach, which at present they unquestionably deserve.

But if relying (it may be with a fatal security) upon that degree of power, which is annexed, for very different purposes, to their elevated rank, their lordships shall invariably persist in the practice of stifling every effort, which is calculated to inform the understanding, and to improve the heart; let them reflect, that as such conduct in religious concerns is contrary to their character as guardians of a protestant church; so, in the end, it must derive upon them the just indignation and resentment of every friend to the real interests of mankind.

HINTS proposed to the consideration of students of the gospel; explaining the design of the annexed scheme of Harmony; and pointing out a compendious method of acquiring a comprehensive knowledge of all those doctrines and injunctions, which Jesus recommended to the attention and observance of his disciples.

THE preceding remarks and delineation may suffice for an account of the method observed by the author, in his lectures. It will not be improper to add some hints for the benefit of those, who may approve the plan and the annexed harmony, at the same time that they pursue these studies without an assistant.

Let the student provide himself with a quarto book of blank paper: the right-hand pages of which must be ruled, so as to be divided into six nearly equal columns; as in the specimen, which is added at the close of this pamphlet.

Let his first employment be to read the quantity of scripture, which is contained
in

in one line of the following Harmony, in the original. He must endeavour to render himself master of the language in this period. If any difficulties should arise, either with regard to the meaning of words, or their construction, he must apply to the usual assistances for information. Among these, he may consult Vigerus de Idiotismis græcæ dictionis, the Ellipses of Bos, Leigh's *Critica Sacra*, Stockius's *Clavis*, the *Lexicon* of Pasor; and above all, the lately published *Lexicon* of Parkhurst*.

Let

* The choice of an edition of the greek Testament is a matter of some moment. The folio edition of Dr. Mill, by Kuster, is well known. Bengelius's quarto edition printed in 1734, and his smaller edition printed in 1762, are highly valuable; but the duodecimo editions of Wettstein appear to be far superior to all others with respect to general use. As various readings of importance may sometimes be contained in the portions of scripture under consideration; the prolegomena and canons of criticism prefixed to these editions of Wettstein, are not unworthy of the student's notice: but if he is desirous of further information in these matters, the valuable little treatise of Ernestus de institutione interpretis novi Testamenti, Michaelis's introductory lectures to the study of the greek Testament, and the prolegomena to the folio edition of Wettstein will afford him ample satisfaction.

Let him in the second place, be careful to investigate the general sense of the passages, referred to in each evangelist, either by his own reflection, or by the aid of paraphrases. And here it may be observed, that among the many performances of this sort, the best is that, which we owe to the labours of the learned and judicious Dr. Clarke.

The student, being now supposed to be a competent judge of the matter contained in one of these lines of references, may, with great improvement to himself, digest the substance of what the evangelists have written in this period into one paragraph, expressed in his own words, and containing all the particulars worthy of observation, which are found in each.

This paragraph is to be transcribed into the left hand page of the paper book; and in the continuation of the closing line of the account, upon the right hand ruled page, must be set down, in their proper columns, the references as contained in the subjoined Harmony.

If any expressions, which lead to a discovery of the important circumstances of time and place, should occur, they are diligently to be attended to; and all such circumstances of time and place are to be noted in the fifth and sixth columns of the ruled paper*.

The student's next employment should be, by the help of the parallel places immediately subjoined to the text in the editions of Dr. Mill and Wetstein, to explore the most remarkable passages of scripture, which tend to explain or illustrate the portion of the gospels under his consideration; these he may set down in smaller figures, in those columns which remain unoccupied either by the narration of the evangelists, or by the notes of time and place.

Although much is now done, the student is not to consider himself as arrived at the termination of his labours. The import of particular words and sentences is now to be inquired

* The author thinks it incumbent upon him to confess, that he has taken the hint of his fifth and sixth columns from the Harmony of Pilkington,

inquired into : allusions to jewish or heathen rites and customs are to be diligently noted ; the peculiar phraseology, and highly figurative diction, (which more or less occurs in all the evangelists, and prevails more especially in almost every verse of St. John) will require the most earnest attention in all who have a desire to know, and the courage* to investigate, the gospel truths. In the prosecution of this part of the plan, the concordances of Stephens and Schmidius, and in case these cannot be obtained, the Cambridge concordance, or that of Cruden, will prove of great advantage. Books descriptive of the boundaries and climate, the natural produce, and peculiar customs of the eastern nations, will be highly useful. The faithful narratives of judicious travellers have already been found to throw considerable light upon several passages, which had formerly eluded the efforts of the most celebrated commentators ;

* See a little tract of bishop Hare frequently reprinted, intitled, “ Difficulties and discouragements, which attend the study of scripture in the way of private judgment.”

tators; a race of men, who in general have been more studious of establishing certain systems, to which they have been attached by education and interest, than of investigating, with diligence and a spirited impartiality, those aids from natural and civil history, which might lead us to a more accurate comprehension of the sacred code.

These means of information, under the direction of a sound understanding and a good heart, at length will lead the student in the scriptures to a reasonable persuasion of his having attained to the knowledge of that one sense, which the writers intended their words and sentences should bear. An inquiry into which, if in order of time it precedes the formation of every system or opinion whatsoever, must naturally terminate in a full comprehension of the truths contained in the word of God; and if conscientiously and intrepidly persisted in by every student in the scriptures, would lead by peaceful steps to that happy uniformity of sentiment in all important points, which cannot be effected by the alluring prospects of worldly greatness, nor imposed by the force

force of temporal terrors on the free-born mind*.

Whatever

* The author hopes, that it will not be esteemed presumption in him to name a few of those commentators and philologists, who in his judgment have laboured most successfully in the elucidation of this part of the holy scriptures.

The Francfort edition of Le Clerc's translation and emendations of Hammond's notes and paraphrase on the new Testament is so valuable, that it almost supersedes the use of other commentators. Whitby, however, Grotius, the Fratres Poloni, and Poole's-Synopsis, may be named in this list. With respect to matters of philology and criticism, the author is sensible of having found so great advantage from the following books, that he cannot but recommend them to the attention of every diligent student in the gospels. *Elfneri Observationes sacræ. Observationes sacræ Georgii Davidis Kypke. Krebsii Observationes in novum Testamentum e Flavio Josepho. Observationes Philologico-criticæ Eliæ Palaiet. Raphelii Annotationes in sacram scripturam*; the notes of Alexander More and others, collected into two small volumes by Fabricius; and Percy's Key to the new Testament.

The works of Lightfoot are indispensably necessary, in order to acquire an acquaintance with jewish rites and customs. The names of the most approved travellers into the eastern countries are well known. The Prelections of bishop Lowth upon the hebrew poetry should be diligently studied. The merit of this performance is so universally acknowledged; that it is almost

Whatever texts of scripture, whatever observations of his own or of others, either critical, or explanatory of passages in the evangelists, shall appear worthy of being recorded, may be transcribed from the rough draughts of the student, into an interleaved testament, a line being drawn under a leading word of the sentence to mark the intention of a reference.

In order to put this matter in the clearest light, we will subjoin a specimen of the Harmony, completed in the manner here recommended to the Student, which may serve as a model for his future labours.

Let

most needless to inform the student, that the right reverend author hath evidenced the most consummate knowledge of his subject, united with uncommon strength of judgment, and happiest elegance of expression, in that celebrated work. The two volumes of the new introduction to the study and knowledge of the new Testament, published by the reverend Dr. Harwood, have raised an ardent expectation of a third from the same ingenious hand. Under this head, it may not be amiss to take notice of Mr. Harmer's Observations on divers passages of scripture, illustrating them by means of circumstances incidentally mentioned in books of voyages and travels into the east. 2 vols. 8vo. second edit. 1776. as a book which may be perused with considerable improvement.

Let us chuse for instance the 37th line of references. In this we find St. Luke to be the sole narrator. The first care of the student then will be to read the 22d, 23d, and 24th verses of the second chapter of St. Luke in the original. Upon inspection into the folio editions of Mill and Wetstein, some doubts may arise whether *αὐτῶν*, or *αὐτῆς*, in verse 22d, be the more authentic reading; or whether, with Bengelius, we should not with more propriety reject them both. The present instance is not a matter of very great importance, nor is the student yet to be supposed properly qualified for the accurate discussion of such points: but cases may occur, wherein an habitual skill of weighing those evidences, which have been brought in support of each various reading, from the mere authority of manuscripts and versions, will be found to be an attainment of no small value.

The student, after having rendered himself master of the language in this period, in the next place turns to the paraphrase of Clarke. He diligently compares it with the original and the english translation; and, by the help of both, is sufficiently pre-
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pared

pared to digest the contents of these three verses, into one paragraph, drawn up with as much conciseness as possible, in his own words, and expressed in somewhat of the following manner.—“ At the conclusion of the days of Mary’s separation, the child Jesus is presented to the Lord, in the temple at Jerusalem; at the same time his mother offers those sacrifices for her purification, which were enjoined by the law of Moses.”

This paragraph, together with its proper reference, is to be inserted into the paper book, in the manner before described.*

As

* It may be objected, that this part of the student’s employment might with more propriety be deferred, until by the help of references and commentators he is better able to investigate the sense of the passage which he is now considering: but we are to reflect, that the sole end of the present scheme is the improvement of the student; and in order to effect this purpose, he should always (to use the words of Taylor) carry all the light he can before him. The method of descending from a general, though imperfect, acquaintance with the author’s intention in any writing, to the explication of particular words and phrases, will often be found

As the student finds, that this presentation and offering were made at an accustomed time, from the expression *οτε επλησθησαν αι ημεραι*, &c. he consults the parallel places in Mill, or those contained in the duodecimo edition of Wetstein : from thence he is directed to turn to the twelfth chapter of Leviticus ; where he will find the time of purification, after the birth of a male, to be at the close of the three-and-thirtieth day from the circumcision of the child, and at the close of the fortieth from the birth. If, therefore, the birth of Jesus be fixed for the twenty-fifth of September, he may put down the third of November, in the fifth column of the ruled page, as the day, on which the facts in question were performed. In the twenty-second verse of this chapter of St. Luke, he will find his authority for putting down Jerusalem in

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the

found to be more easy, than the ascent from the examination of particular words and sentences to the general import of the whole. Mr. Locke's preface to his " Paraphrase and notes on some of the epistles of St. Paul," which the author of these papers, again and again, recommends as the most sensible performance ever written upon the subject of interpretation, sets this matter in the clearest light.

the sixth column, as the place of these transactions. The abovementioned chapter of Leviticus, recording that commandment which was the foundation of the latter of these institutions, may appear worthy of being put down in one of the vacant columns; it is accordingly inserted in the first. There now remain only two columns unoccupied, viz. the second and the fourth; in which *Exod. xiii. 11—17*, and *Numbers xviii. 15—18*, (the first describing the reason of the rite of presentation, and the latter confirming or throwing further light upon it) may be noted down.

The student will observe, that the testimonies of Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, Philo, as well as the observations of Lightfoot, may be referred to with advantage; but he is advised to be sparing in such references, as they may call his attention from the more important illustrations, which may be deduced from the words of holy scripture.

Our next step must be to consult the commentators, and those other authors, who may have contributed their assistance towards the elucidation of the passage now
before

before us. As this is intended only as a specimen, it is unnecessary to be diffuse in this part of the explication. It will be sufficient to observe, that, in the philological and critical notes of Palairet, the student will find some just observations upon the propriety of the words *ανηγαγον* and *παράσῃσαι* in this place: that by the help of Elfsner's observations he will perceive, the rite of purification upon such occasions was not peculiar to the jewish people: and that, from Lightfoot, and Schoetgenius in his *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, as well as from the original institution of the law, he will be able to discern the lowly situation of Joseph and Mary, in their humble offering; which was much inferior in value, to what in similar circumstances was enjoined to the rich.

The student's own good sense will enable him to select, from the numerous tribes of commentators, such observations as are most worthy of being attended to and recorded; these at his leisure he may transcribe into his interleaved Testament, having previously drawn a line under the words to be com-

mented upon, as in the present instance under the words *καθαρισμῶς, ἀνηγαγον, and παρασησαι*, in order to call his attention to his notes, upon a subsequent reading of this passage.

The method of procedure, which has thus been exemplified in the 37th line of references, is to be pursued through every line of the annexed harmony.

If in the line of references there be found portions of two, or of three, or of all the evangelists, as in the 54th line of references (where the preaching of John is treated of;) the student must separately attend to the various readings, the language, and the paraphrase of each evangelist, before he digests them into a paragraph of his own. And here, as six columns may not be sufficient to comprehend in one line all the passages he would wish to have referred to, together with the circumstances of time and place; he may find room for such additional references, by adopting the method which is exemplified in the 41st line of the specimen of the completed Harmony.

The author is not without his apprehensions, that the labour necessary for the execution of such a comprehensive scheme, as is now recommended, may be considered as an objection to his plan. He trusts, however, that the preceding mode of study will, upon experience, be found to be far less irksome, than the pains of toiling through a sea of commentators, expositors, fathers, schoolmen, councils; and far less laborious, at the same time much more pleasing, than the task of acquiring an acquaintance with the first elements of those philosophical studies, which our alma mater hath, with so much wisdom, recommended to the attention of her sons.

The fruits of such industry, continued through the other parts of scripture, will be, as far as relates to all necessary points, a thorough acquaintance with, and a perfect knowledge of, our Bible : a book, which contains whatever is profitable for doctrine, for instruction, and reproof; and which, among its other epithets and titles descriptive of its worth, may justly be stiled, in the words of the immortal Chil-

lingworth, the RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS.*

The

* This celebrated assertion of the renowned Chillingworth, that “the Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of protestants;” appears to be but imperfectly comprehended, even in these more enlightened times.

If indeed, by the term “religion,” we are to understand a particular form of church government, and mode of public worship; we must be compelled to allow, that the assertion is by no means true; as no obligatory institution, with respect to either of these points, is to be found in any part of the sacred code; which only contains a general intimation and advice, that all things in public worship be conducted with decency and order.

But if the term “religion” is made use of to denote a collection of doctrines, and precepts, relating to the regulation of human life; the assertion of Chillingworth is most accurately just: and though much has been said upon the respect which is due to established opinions; yet it is not to be supposed, that any member of our church would have the confidence to deny the supreme authority of the scriptures in all controversies of faith. With respect to opinions of a religious nature, the scriptures should be considered, not merely as our ultimate, but as our only guide; no human interpretation is of any force, should it contradict these scriptures: and of the justness or propriety of the interpretation, utterly regardless of the decisions of collective bodies of men, INDIVIDUALS are unquestionably to judge for themselves. Religion, when we consider it either as a principle of action, or as a persuasion of the truth of certain doctrines,

trines productive of such principle, is a merely PERSONAL concern. The evident and chief purpose of the gospel is to hold forth the promise of an everlasting life to every sincere and conscientious observer of its doctrines, while it menaces the future vengeance of an offended deity against every contriver and perpetrator of evil; and the effect of these motives upon the minds of men will depend, not upon the determinations of councils, and synods, but, upon the degree of evidence and importance, with which the truth of God shall manifest itself to the conscience of the believer.

It is therefore in defiance of reason and the common rights of mankind, that coercive or attractive powers are employed to produce an uniformity of sentiment in matters of doctrine; the effort itself is the effort of the worst species of tyranny, and the general success evinces the folly of the attempt. An uniformity of profession may perhaps be effected; and such uniformity would be an infallible criterion of a total disregard to all vital religion; and an unequivocal token of the utter profligacy and degeneracy of the times. To the production of the religious principle, the noblest characteristic of man's nature, there is undoubtedly required the free and full exertion of man's reason; and as a difference in education and course of life, with innumerable other circumstances, will naturally produce a diversity of opinion, with respect to any subject, wherein the reason and the passions of our species are concerned; so a diversity of sentiment may reasonably be expected, and may safely be tolerated, with respect to the interpretation of scripture, among those, who yet may agree in submitting to the same mode of ecclesiastical discipline, in worshipping the same God, and in expressing their gratitude to him for the same redeemer.

If

If it be objected, that were this freedom of inquiry allowed in its fullest extent, such diversities of opinion would arise, as might be prejudicial to the real interests of religion, and occasion dissensions dangerous to the state. It may, in answer, be observed, that a freedom, similar to that contended for in matters of religion, has for some time been allowed with very great advantage, in subjects of a philosophical kind; and that a diversity of opinion with respect to the fundamental principles of civil society, has never, even in the worst of times, been considered by the legislature, as destructive of its security. On the contrary, it has always been found upon experience, that the strength of reason and argument, has at length borne down all opposition, in matters which are naturally subject to their jurisdiction; and that the force of laws, assisted by penal inflictions, has always effected the purpose of their institution, unaided by a political creed. Should the diversities of opinion become more numerous (which perhaps is scarcely possible) in consequence of a complete toleration, and an utter abolition of the antichristian practice of subscription, it would not from thence necessarily follow, that the sum total of real dissensions and animosities would be therefore increased, as a diversity of opinion proceeds from the natural, or superinduced diversity of men's minds, while our religious dissensions are to be rather accounted for from those emoluments, which are annexed to some opinions in preference to others, without any real ground or substantial reason for such preference. Convinced perhaps by an experiment fairly tried, that an intire uniformity of sentiment can never be effected, mankind would learn to be more candid and temperate in their religious disquisitions; and the athanasian, the arian, and the socinian, united by

an approbation of the same form of ecclesiastical discipline, might wave the insertion of their discriminating opinions into the forms of public worship ; and consent, however divided in points comparatively of small importance, to meet together in the house of God as friends. And surely, if they are united in a belief of the same redeemer ; are guilty of no real offence against the civil institutions of their country ; if their characters are marked by a just and honourable deportment, they are equally intitled to all the privileges and immunities of a protestant establishment ; ought equally to be respected by mankind for their social virtues ; and, if truly pious, should be reputed also equally beloved by their God.

Nor is there any reason to be apprehensive, that, were a complete toleration allowed, or an equal encouragement indifferently afforded to every religious opinion, which is formed upon a private interpretation of scripture, the purity or simplicity of the christian faith would suffer from so generous an indulgence. “ In such circumstances we might rest assured, (to use the expressive language of Dr. Hallifax’s very able and ingenious correspondent) that right reason would ultimately prevail ; that one TRUTH like one SUN, however it might for a time be forced to combat with clouds and tempests, would at last break forth, dispel the darkness of sophistry and error, and diffuse an irresistible lustre, and happy serenity over the whole christian world.*”

[* See “ A letter to Dr. Hallifax, upon the subject of his three discourses preached before the university of Cambridge, occasioned by an attempt to abolish subscription to the xxxix articles.” the second edition, 1772, p. 32.]

IN the following scheme of Harmony, the figures 1—5 in the first line of reference imply, that the student is to read from the beginning of the first verse of the first chapter of St. Luke, to the beginning of the fifth verse in the same chapter; or in other words, from the first verse inclusive to the fifth verse exclusive. The 8th line of reference points out to him, that he is to read from the beginning of the fifth verse to the beginning of the eighth: and so on for the rest. The reference marked by III 23—, denotes, that he is to read from the beginning of the 23d verse of the third chapter of St. Luke, to the end of that chapter. It will sometimes happen that the same verse is quoted more than once,—such reference denotes, that the verse in question contains doctrines or transactions, which are the subject of separate verses in the other evangelists; or such a diversity of matter, as may not unprofitably be dilated into separate paragraphs, although there should be but one narrator of such facts or doctrines.

	Matt. I	Mark. I	Luke I	John I
1			1 - 5	
2				1 - 6
3				9 - 12
4				12 - 14
5				14 - 15
6				16 - 17
7				17 - 19
8			5 - 8	
9			8 - 13	
10			13 - 18	
11			18 - 21	
12			21 - 23	
13			23 - 24	
14			24 - 26	
15			26 - 34	
16			34 - 39	
17	18 - 19			
18			39 - 46	
19			46 - 56	
20			56 - 57	
21			57 - 59	
22			59 - 65	

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	Matt. I	Mark I	Luke I	John I
23			67 - 80	
24	18 - 20			
25	20 - 24			
26	24 - 25			
27			65 - 67	
			II	
28			I - 4	
29			4 - 6	
30	I - 18			
			III	
31			23 - .	
			II	
32	25 - .		6 - 8	
33			8 - 13	
34			13 - 15	
35			15 - 21	
36	25 - .		21 - 22	
37			22 - 25	
38			25 - 33	
39			33 - 36	
40			36 - 39	

	Matt. II	Mark I	Luke II	John I
41	I - 4			
42	4 - 7			
43	7 - 9			
44	9 - 12			
45	12 - 13			
46	13 - 16			
47	16 - 19			
48	19 - 22			
49	22 - .		39 - 40	
50			40 - 41	
51			41 - 51	
52			51 - .	
			I	
53			80 - .	
	III		III	
54	I - 4	I - 5	I - 7	6 - 9
55	4 - 5	6 - 7		
56	5 - 7	5 - 6		
57	7 - 11		7 - 10	
58			10 - 15	
59			15 - 16	
60	11 - 13	7 - 9	16 - 18	

	Matt. III	Mark I	Luke III	John I
61	13 - 16	9 - 10		
62	16 - .	10 - 12	21 - 23	
63				15 - 16
	IV		IV	
64	1 - 12	12 - 14	1 - 14	
65				19 - 29
66				29 - 35
67				35 - 42
68				42 - 44
69				44 - 46
70				46 - .
				II
71				1 - 12
72				12 - 13
73				13 - 14
74				14 - 18
75				18 - 23
76				23 - .
				III
77				1 - 4
78				4 - 7
79				7 - 9

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	Matt. XIV	Mark VI	Luke III	John III
80				9 - 18
81				18 - 22
82				22 - 23
83			18 - 19	23 - 25
84				25 - 27
85				27 - .
86	3 - 6 IV	17 - 21	19 - 21	IV
87	12 - 13			I - 4
88				4 - 10
89				10 - 13
90				13 - 16
91				16 - 19
92				19 - 25
93				25 - 28
94				28 - 31
95				31 - 35
96				35 - 40
97				40 - 43
		I	IV	
98	12 - 13	14 - 15	14 - 16	43 - 44

	Matt. IV	Mark I	Luke IV	John IV
99			16 - 23	
100			23 - 28	
101			28 - 31	
102				43 - 47
103				46 - .
104	13 - 17	14 - 15	31 - 33	
105	17 - 18	15 - 16		
			V	
106	18 - 19	16 - 17	1 - 4	
107			4 - 8	
108	19 - 23	17 - 21	8 - 12	
			IV	
109		21 - 23	31 - 33	
110		23 - 27	33 - 36	
111		27 - 29	36 - 38	
	VIII			
112	14 - 16	29 - 32	38 - 40	
113	16 - 18	32 - 35	40 - 42	
114		35 - 38	42 - 43	
115		38 - 40	42 - .	
			XIII	
116			10 - 14	

	Matt. VIII	Mark IV	Luke XIII	John
117			14 - 18	
118	18 - 19	35 - 36		
			IX	
119	19 - 21		57 - 59	
120	21 - 23		59 - 61	
121			61 - .	
			VIII	
122	23 - 28	35 - .	22 - 26	
		V		
123	28 - 33	1 - 14	26 - 34	
124	33 - .	14 - 18	34 - 38	
125		18 - 20	38 - 40	
126		20 - 21	39 - 40	
	IX			
127	1 - 2	21 - 22	40 - 41	
		II	V	
128		1 - 3	17 - 18	
129	2 - 9	3 - 13	18 - 27	
130		13 - 14		
131	9 - 10	14 - 15	27 - 29	
132	10 - 11	15 - 16	29 - 30	
133	11 - 12	16 - 17	31 - 32	

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	Matt. IX	Mark II	Luke V	John
134	12 - 14	17 - 18	31 - 33	
135	14 - 16	18 - 21	33 - 36	
136	16 - 18	21 - 23	36 - 39	
137			39 - .	
		V.	VIII	
138	18 - 20	22 - 25	41 - 43	
139	20 - 23	25 - 35	43 - 49	
140		35 - 37	49 - 51	
141	23 - 27	37 - .	51 - .	
142	27 - 32			
143	32 - 35			
	IV			
144	23 - 25			
145	25 - .			
	V	III	VI	
146	1 - 2	13 - 14	12 - 13	
147	1 - 2	13 - 20	13 - 17	
148	1 - 2		17 - 18	
149	2 - 11		20 - 22	
150	.		24 - 26	
151	11 - 13		22 - 24	
152			26 - 27	

	Matt. V	Mark	Luke XIV	John
153	13 - 14		34 - XI	
154	14 - 16 VI		33 - 34	
155	22 - 24 V		34 - 37	
156	16 - 17		XVI	
157	17 - 21		17 - 18	
158	21 - 23			
159	23 - 25			
160	25 - 27			
161	27 - 29			
162	29 - 31			
163	31 - 33		18 - 19	
164	33 - 38		VI	
165	38 - 43 VII		29 - 31	
166	12 - 13 V		31 - 32	
167	43 - 45		27 - 29	

	Matt. V	Mark I	Luke VI	John
168	45 - .		32 - 37	
	VI			
169	{ 1 - 7 1 - 16			
	VII			
170	1 - 3		37 - 39	
171			39 - 41	
172	3 - 6		41 - 43	
173	6 - 7			
174	13 - 15			
175	15 - 21		43 - 46	
176	21 - 22		46 - 47	
177	22 - 24			
178	24 - 26		47 - 49	
179	26 - 28		49 - .	
180	28 - .			
	VIII		VII	
181	1 - 2		1 - 2	
			V	
182	2 - 5	40 - 45	12 - 15	
183		45 - .	15 - 17	

	Matt VII	Mark II	Luke VII	John V
184	4 - 8		1 - 6	
185	8 - 10		6 - 9	
186	10 - 14		9 - 11	
187			11 - 16	
188			16 - 18	
189				1 - 2
190				2 - 5
191				5 - 10
192				10 - 14
193				14 - 17
194				17 - 19
195				19 - 24
196				24 - 30
197				30 - 33
198				33 - 36
199				36 - 39
200				39 - 41
201				41 - 45
202				45 - .
	XII		VI	
203	1 - 3	23 - 25	1 - 3	
204	3 - 9	23 - .	3 - 6	

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	Matt. XII	Mark III	Luke VI	John
205	9 - 10	1 - 2	6 - 7	
206	13 - 11	1 - 3	6 - 8	
207	11 - 14	3 - 6	8 - 11	
208	14 - 15	6 - 7	11 - 12	
209	15 - 16	7 - 9	17 - 18	
210		9 - 11	19 - 20	
211	16 - 17	10 - 13	17 - 20	
212	17 - 22			
			XI	
213			1 - 2	
	VI			
214	7 - 9			
215	9 - 14		2 - 5	
216	13 - 14			
217	14 - 16			
218			5 - 9	
	VII			
219	7 - 9		9 - 11	
220	9 - 12		11 - 14	
221		20 - 22		
	XII			
222	22 - 24		14 - 15	

	Matt. XII	Mark III	Luke XI	John
223	24 - 25	22 - 23	15 - 16	
224	25 - 29	23 - 27	17 - 21	
225	29 - 30	27 - 28	21 - 23	
226	30 - 31		23 - 24	
			XII	
227	31 - 33	28 - 31	10 - 11	
228	33 - 38			
			XI	
229	38 - 39		16 - 17	
230	39 - 41		29 - 31	
231	41 - 43		31 - 33	
232	43 - 46		24 - 27	
233			27 - 29	
			VIII	
234	46 - .	31 - .	19 - 22	
			XI	
235			37 - 38	
236			38 - 42	
237			42 - 43	
238			43 - 44	
239			44 - 45	
240			45 - 47	

	Matt. XIII	Mark IV	Luke XI	John
241			52 - 53	
242			53 - VIII	
243			I - 4	
244	I - 4	I - 3	4 - 5	
245	3 - 9	3 - 9	5 - 9	
246	9 - 10	9 - 10	8 - 9	
247	10 - 11			
				Luke X
248	11 - 18	11 - 13	10 - 11	23 - 25
249		21 - 24	16 - 18	
250	12 - 13	24 - 26	18 - 19	
251	24 - 31			
252		26 - 30		
			XIII	
253	31 - 33	30 - 33	18 - 20	
254	33 - 34		20 - 22	
255	34 - 36	33 - 35		
256	36 - 37	34 - 35		
			VIII	
257		10 - 11	9 - 10	
258		13 - 14		

	Matt. XIII	Mark IV	Luke VIII	John
259	18 - 24	14 - 21	11 - 16	
260	36 - 37			
261	37 - 44			
262	44 - 45			
263	45 - 47			
264	47 - 51			
265	51 - 53			
		VI		
266	53 - 58	1 - 4		
267	57 - .	4 - 7		
	IX			
268	35 - 36	6 - 7		
			X	
269	36 - .		2 - 3	
	X		IX	
270	1 - 5	7 - 8	1 - 2	
271	5 - 9	7 - 8	2 - 3	
272	9 - 11	8 - 10	3 - 4	
273	11 - 16	10 - 12	4 - 6	
			X	
274	16 - 19		3 - 4	
			XII	
275	19 - 21		11 - 13	

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	Matt. X	Mark VI	Luke XII	John
276	21 - 26			
277	26 - 32		2 - 8	
278	32 - 43		8 - 10	
279			49 - 51	
280	34 - 37		51 - 54	
281	37 - 40		X	
282	40 - .		16 - 17	
			IX	
283		12 - 14	6 - 7	
	XI			
284	1 - 2		VII	
285			18 - 19	
286	2 - 4		19 - 21	
287			21 - 22	
288	4 - 7		22 - 24	
289	7 - 12		24 - 29	
			XVI	
290	12 - 16		16 - 17	
			VII	
291	12 - 13		29 - 31	
292	16 - 20		31 - 36	

	Matt. XI	Mark VI	Luke X	John VI
293	20 - 25		13 - 16 VII	
294			36 - 37	
295			37 - 39	
296			39 - 40	
297			40 - 44	
298			44 - 48	
299			48 - 49	
300			49 - .	
	XIV			
301	6 - 12	21 - 29		
302	12 - 13	29 - 30		
			IX	
303	1 - 3	14 - 17	7 - 10	
304		30 - 31	10 - 11	
305	13 - 14	31 - 33	10 - 11	1 - 5
306				5 - 8
307	13 - 15	33 - 35	11 - 12	
308	15 - 19	35 - 39	12 - 14	8 - 10
309	19 - 22	39 - 45	14 - 18	10 - 14
310				14 - 15
311	22 - 24	45 - 47		15 - 18

	Matt. XIV	Mark VI	Luke X	John VI
312	24 - 28	47 - 51		18 - 21
313	28 - 32			
314	32 - 34	51 - 53		21 - 22
315	34 - 35	53 - 54		21 - 22
316				22 - 26
317				26 - 28
318				28 - 30
319				30 - 34
320				34 - 41
321				41 - 43
322				43 - 47
323				47 - 52
324				52 - 60
325				60 - 64
326				64 - 66
327				66 - 67
328				67 - 70
329				70 - .
330	35 - .	54 - .		
331			1 - 2	
332			4 - 10	
333			10 - 13	

	Matt. XI	Mark VII	Luke X	John VII
334			17 - 21	
335	25 - 28		21 - 23	
336			23 - 25	
337	28 - .			
338			25 - 26	
339			26 - 29	
340			29 - 30	
341			30 - 36	
342			36 - 38	
343				I - 2
	XV			
344	I - 3	I - 6		
345	7 - 10	6 - 8		
346		8 - 9		
347	3 - 7	9 - 14		
348	10 - 12	14 - 17		
349	12 - 15			
350	15 - 21	17 - 24		
351	21 - 22	24 - 25		
352	22 - 24	25 - 27		
353	24 - 26	25 - 27		
354	26 - 28	27 - 29		

	Matt. XV	Mark VII	Luke XII	John
355	28 - 29	29 - 31		
356	29 - 30	31 - 32		
357	30 - 31			
358		32 - 36		
359	31 - 32	36 - .		
		VIII		
360	32 - 35	1 - 6		
361	35 - 39	6 - 10		
362	39 - .	9 - 11		
	XVI			
363	1 - 2	11 - 12		
364	2 - 5	12 - 13	54 - 58	
365			58 - .	
			XIII	
366			1 - 2	
367			2 - 4	
368			4 - 6	
369			6 - 10	
			XII	
370			13 - 15	
371			15 - 16	
372			16 - 22	

	Matt. VI	Mark VIII	Luke XII	John VII
373	25 - 26		22 - 24	
374	26 - 27		24 - 25	
375	27 - 28		25 - 27	
376	28 - 31		27 - 29	
377	31 - 34		29 - 32	
378	34 - .			
379			32 - 33	
380	19 - 22		33 - 35	
			XVI	
381	24 - 25		13 - 14	
	XVI			
382	4 - 5	13 - 14		
			XII	
383	5 - 8	14 - 17	1 - 2	
384	8 - 13	17 - 22	1 - 2	
385		22 - 23		
386		22 - 27		
387				1 - 3
388				3 - 6
389				6 - 10
390				10 - 11

	Matt.	Mark	Luke X	John VII
391			38 -	
392				11 - 14
393				14 - 16
394				16 - 19
395				19 - 21
396				21 - 25
397				25 - 28
398				28 - 30
399				30 - 32
400				32 - 33
401				33 - 35
402				35 - 37
403				37 - 40
404				40 - 44
405				44 - 50
406				50 -
				VIII
407				1 - 3
408				3 - 6
409				6 - 10
410				10 - 12
411				12 - 13

	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John VIII
412				13 - 19
413				19 - 21
414				21 - 25
415				25 - 28
416				28 - 31
417				31 - 33
418				33 - 37
419				37 - 39
420				39 - 42
421				42 - 48
422				48 - 49
423				49 - 52
424				52 - 54
425				54 - 57
426				57 - 59
427				59 - .
				IX
428				1 - 3
429				3 - 6
430				6 - 8
431				8 - 10
432				10 - 13

	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John IX
433				13 - 17
434				17 - 18
435				18 - 24
436				24 - 26
437				26 - 30
438				30 - 34
439				34 - 35
440				35 - 39
441				39 - .
				X
442				1 - 6
443				6 - 7
444				7 - 11
445				11 - 14
446				14 - 16
447				16 - 17
448				17 - 19
449				19 - 22
450				22 - 24
451				24 - 26
452				26 - 31
453				31 - 34

	Matt. XVI	Mark VIII	Luke IX	John X
454				34 - 37
455				37 - 39
456				39 - 40
457	13 - 17	27 - 30	18 - 21	
458	17 - 20			
459	20 - 21	30 - 31	21 - 22	
460	21 - 22	31 - 33	22 - 23	
461	22 - 24	32 - 34		
462	24 - 26	34 - 36	23 - 25	
463	26 - 27	36 - 38	25 - 26	
464	27 - 28	38 - .	26 - 27	
		IX		
465	28 - .	1 - 2	27 - 28	
	XVII			
466	1 - 4	2 - 5	28 - 32	
467	4 - 5	5 - 7	32 - 34	
468	5 - 9	7 - 9	34 - 37	
469	9 - 10	9 - 10	36 - 37	
470		10 - 11		
471	10 - 14	11 - 14		
472		14 - 15		
473		15 - 16		

	Matt. XVII	Mark. IX	Luke IX	John
474	14 - 17	16 - 19	37 - 41	
475	17 - 18	19 - 20	41 - 42	
476		20 - 25	42 - 43	
477	18 - 19	25 - 28	42 - 43	
478	19 - 22	28 - 30		
479			43 - 44	
480	22 - 24	30 - 33	43 - 46	
481		34 - 35	46 - 47	
482	24 - 25			
483	25 - .			
	XVIII			
484	1 - 6	33 - 38	47 - 49	
485		38 - 41	49 - 51	
486		41 - 42		
487	6 - 7	42 - 43		
			XVII	
488	7 - 8		1 - 3	
489	8 - 10	43 - 49		
490	10 - 12			
491	12 - 15			
492		49 - .		
493	15 - 19		3 - 4	
494	19 - 21			

	M tt. XVIII	Mark	Luke XVII	John
495	21 - 23		3 - 5	
496	23 - 35			
497	35 - .			
498			5 - 7	
499			7 - 11	
			XIII	
500			22 - 24	
501			24 - 29	
502			29 - 31	
503			31 - 33	
	XXIII			
504	37 - .		33 - .	
			XIV	
505			1 - 3	
506			3 - 5	
507			5 - 7	
508			7 - 12	
509			12 - 15	
510			15 - 16	
	XXII			
511	1 - 6		16 - 21	
512	6 - 8			

	Matt. XXII	Mark X	Luke XIV	John
513	8 - 11		21 - 25	
514	11 - 14			
515	14 - 15			
516			25 - 28	
517			28 - 31	
518			31 - 34	
			XV	
519			1 - 3	
520			3 - 8	
521			8 - 11	
522			11 - .	
			XVI	
523			1 - 8	
524			8 - 10	
525			10 - 13	
526			14 - 16	
527			16 - 19	
528			19 - .	
	XIX		XVII	
529	1 - 3	1 - 2	11 - 12	
530			11 - 15	
531			15 - 20	

	Matt. XIX	Mark X	Luke XVII	John X
532			20 - 22	
			IX	
533			51 - 54	
534			54 - 57	
535	1 - 3	1 - 2		40 - 41
536				41 - .
			XVIII	
537			9 - 15	
538	3 - 9	2 - 10		
			XVI	
539	9 - 10	10 - 13	18 - 19	
540	10 - 13			
			XVIII	
541	13 - 16	13 - 17	15 - 18	
				XI
542				1 - 4
543				4 - 7
544				7 - 9
545				9 - 11
546				11 - 14
547				14 - 16
548				16 - 17
549	15 - 16			

	Matt. XIX	Mark X	Luke XVIII	John XI
550	16 - 20	17 - 20	18 - 21	
551	20 - 22	20 - 22	21 - 23	
552	22 - 23	22 - 23	23 - 24	
553	23 - 24	23 - 24	24 - 25	
554		24 - 25		
555	24 - 26	25 - 27	25 - 27	
556	26 - 27	27 - 28	27 - 28	
557	27 - 30	28 - 31	28 - 31	
558	30 - .	31 - 32		
	XX			
559	I - 17			
560				17 - 20
561				20 - 23
562				23 - 28
563				28 - 32
564				32 - 33
565				33 - 35
566				35 - 38
567				38 - 41
568				41 - 43
569				43 - 45
570				45 - 47

	Matt. XX	Mark X	Luke XVIII	John XI
57 ¹				47 - 49
57 ²				49 - 53
57 ³				53 - 54
57 ⁴				54 - 55
57 ⁵	17 - 20	32 - 35	31 - 35	
57 ⁶	20 - 22	35 - 38		
57 ⁷	22 - 24	38 - 41		
57 ⁸	24 - 25	41 - 42		
57 ⁹	25 - 29	42 - 46		
58 ⁰	29 - 32	46 - 49	35 - 40	
58 ¹	32 - .	49 - .	40 - .	
			XIX	
58 ²			1 - 5	
58 ³			5 - 7	
58 ⁴			7 - 9	
58 ⁵			9 - 11	
	XXV			
58 ⁶			11 - 12	
58 ⁷	14 - 31		12 - 28	
58 ⁸			28 - 29	
58 ⁹				55 - 56
59 ⁰				56 - .

	Matt. XXI	Mark XI	Luke XIX	John XII
591				1 - 2
592				9 - 10
593				10 - 12
594	1 - 4	1 - 4	29 - 32	
595	6 - 8	4 - 8	32 - 36	14 - 15
596	4 - 6			14 - 16
597				16 - 17
598	8 - 9	8 - 9	36 - 37	12 - 14
599				17 - 19
600	9 - 10	9 - 11	37 - 39	13 - 14
601			39 - 41	
602			41 - 45	
603				19 - 20
604	10 - 12	11 - 12		
605		11 - 12		
606	14 - 15			
607	15 - 17			
608	17 - 18	11 - 12		
609	18 - 20	12 - 15		
610	12 - 14	15 - 18	45 - 47	
	LuXXI			
611	37 - .	18 - 19	47 - .	

	Matt. XXI	Mark XI	Luke XX	John XII
612				20 - 23
613				23 - 25
614				25 - 27
615				27 - 29
616				29 - 31
617				31 - 34
618				34 - 37
619				37 - 39
620				39 - 42
621				42 - 44
622				44 - .
623		19 - 20		36 - 37
624	20 - 21	20 - 22		
625	21 - 23	22 - 25		
626		25 - 27		
627	23 - 24	27 - 29	1 - 3	
628	24 - 28	29 - .	3 - 9	
629	28 - 31			
630	31 - 33			
		XII		
631	33 - 40	1 - 9	9 - 16	
632	40 - 45	9 - 12	15 - 19	
633	45 - .	12 - 13	19 - 20	

	Matt. XXII	Mark XII	Luke XX	John
634	15 - 18	13 - 15	20 - 23	
635	18 - 23	15 - 18	23 - 27	
636	23 - 29	18 - 24	27 - 34	
637	29 - 31	24 - 26	34 - 37	
638	31 - 33	26 - 28	37 - 39	
639	33 - 34			
640	34 - 37	28 - 29		
641	37 - 41	29 - 32		
642		32 - 34	39 - 40	
643		34 - 35		
644	46 - .	34 - 35	40 - 41	
645	41 - .	35 - 38	41 - 45	
646		37 - 38		
	XXIII			
647	1 - 8	38 - 40	45 - 47	
648	8 - 13			
	VI			
649	1 - 5			
650	5 - 7			
651	16 - 19			
	XXIII			
652	13 - 14			

	Matt. XXIII	Mark XII	Luke XX	John
653	14 - 15	40 - 41	47 - .	
654	15 - 16			
655	16 - 23			
656	23 - 25			
657	25 - 27			
658	27 - 29			
			XI	
659	29 - 33		47 - 49	
660	33 - 37		49 - 52	
			XXI	
661		41 - .	1 - 5	
	XXIV	XIII		
662	1 - 3	1 - 3	5 - 7	
663	3 - 4	3 - 5	7 - 8	
664	4 - 9	5 - 10	8 - 12	
665	9 - 15	9 - 14	12 - 20	Luke XVII
666	15 - 19	14 - 17	20 - 23	31 - 34
667	19 - 23	17 - 21	23 - 24	
			XVII	
668	23 - 28	21 - 24	22 - 26	
669	37 - 40		26 - 31	

	Matt. XXIV	Mark XIII	Luke XVII	John
670	40 - 42		34 - 37	
671	28 - 29		37 - . XVIII	
672			1 - 9 XXI	
673	29 - 32	24 - 28	24 - 28	
674			28 - 29	
675	32 - 36	28 - 32	29 - 34	
676	36 - 37	32 - 33		
677	42 - 43	33 - 34	34 - 37 XII	
678	43 - 45		39 - 41	
679			41 - 42	
680	45 - .	34 - 37	42 - 47	
681		34 - 37	35 - 39	
682			47 - 49	
683		37 - .		
	XXV			
684	1 - 14			
685	31 - 34			
686	34 - 41			
687	41 - 46			

	Matt. XXV	Mark XIV	Luke XXII	John XII
688	46 - .			
	XXVI			
689	1 - 3			
690	3 - 6	1 - 3	1 - 3	
691	6 - 7	3 - 4		2 - 3
692	6 - 8	3 - 4		3 - 4
693	8 - 10	4 - 6		4 - 6
694				6 - 7
695	10 - 13	6 - 9		7 - 9
696	13 - 14	9 - 10		
697	14 - 17	10 - 12	3 - 7	
698	17 - 20	12 - 17	7 - 14	
699	20 - 21	17 - 18	14 - 15	
				XIII
700	29 - 30	25 - 26	15 - 19	1 - 2
701			24 - 25	
702				2 - 6
703				6 - 12
704				12 - 18
705			25 - 28	
706			28 - 31	

	Matt. XXVI	Mark XIV	Luke XXII	John XIII
707				18 - 21
708	21 - 22	18 - 19	21 - 22	21 - 22
709	24 - 25	21 - 22	22 - 23	
710	22 - 23	19 - 20	23 - 24	22 - 23
711	25 - 26			
712				23 - 26
713	23 - 24	20 - 21		26 - 27
714				27 - 30
715				30 - 31
				1 Cor. XI
716	26 - 29	22 - 25	19 - 21	23 - 26
717	30 - 31	26 - 27		Jo. XIII
718				31 - 33
719	31 - 33	27 - 29		
720	33 - 34	29 - 30		
721			31 - 33	
722				31 - 36
723				36 - 37
724			33 - 34	37 - 38
725	34 - 35	30 - 31	34 - 35	38 - .
726	35 - 36	31 - 32		

	Matt. XXVI	Mark XIV	Luke XXII	John XIV
727			35 - 38	
728			38 - 39	
729				1 - 5
730				5 - 8
731				8 - 12
732				12 - 15
733				15 - 18
734				18 - 22
735				22 - 25
736				25 - 27
737				27 - .
738	30 - 31	26 - 27	39 - 40	31 - .
				XV
739				1 - 11
740				11 - 18
741				18 - 26
742				26 - .
				XVI
743				1 - 5
744				5 - 12
745				12 - 16
746				16 - 19

	Matt. XXVI	Mark XIV	Luke XXII	John XVI
747				19 - 29
748				29 - .
				XVII
449				1 - 5
750				5 - 11
751				11 - 17
752				17 - 20
753				20 - 22
754				22 - 25
755				25 - .
				XVIII
756	36 - 37	32 - 33	40 - 41	1 - 2
757	36 - 38	32 - 34		
758	38 - 40	34 - 37	40 - 43	
759			43 - 45	
760	40 - 42	37 - 39	45 - 47	
761	42 - 44	39 - 41		
762	44 - 47	41 - 43		
763	47 - 48	43 - 44	47 - 48	2 - 4
764	48 - 51	44 - 46	47 - 49	
765				4 - 7
766				7 - 10

	Matt. XXVI	Mark XIV	Luke XXII	John XVIII
767	50 - 51	46 - 47		
768	51 - 55	47 - 48	49 - 52	10 - 12
769	55 - 57	48 - 51	52 - 54	
770		51 - 53		
771				12 - 13
772				13 - 15
773	57 - 58	53 - 54	54 - 55	24 - 25
774	58 - 59	54 - 55	54 - 56	15 - 17
775	69 - 71	66 - 69	56 - 58	17 - 19
776	71 - 73	68 - 71	58 - 59	25 - 26
777	73 - 75	70 - .	59 - 61	26 - 28
778	75 - .	72 - .	61 - 63	
779	57 - 58	53 - 54	66 - 67	
780			67 - 69	19 - 22
781				22 - 24
782	59 - 62	55 - 60		
783	62 - 65	60 - 63	69 - 71	
784	65 - 67	63 - 65	71 - .	
785	67 - 69	65 - 66	63 - 66	
	XXVII	XV	XXIII	
786	1 - 3	1 - 2	1 - 2	28 - 29
787	3 - 6			

	Matt. XXVII	Mark XV	Luke XXIII	John XVIII
788	6 - 11			
789	11 - 12			28 - 30
790				30 - 31
791				
792	12 - 13	3 - 4	2 - 3	
793	12 - 15	4 - 6		
794				31 - 33
795	11 - 12	2 - 3	3 - 4	33 - 38
796			4 - 5	38 - 39
797			5 - 6	
798			6 - 8	
799			8 - 12	
800			12 - 13	
801	15 - 17	6 - 9	17 - 18	39 - 40
802	17 - 20	9 - 11	13 - 17	
803	20 - 21	11 - 12		
804	21 - 22		18 - 20	39 - .
805	22 - 23	12 - 14	20 - 22	
806	23 - 24	14 - 15	22 - 24	
807	24 - 26			
808	26 - 27	15 - 16	23 - 26	
809	26 - 27	15 - 16		XIX 1 - 2

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. 119

	Matt. XXVII	Mark XV	Luke XXIII	John XIX
810	27 - 31	16 - 20		2 - 4
811				4 - 7
812				7 - 8
813				8 - 10
814				10 - 12
815				12 - 13
816				13 - 16
817	31 - 32	20 - 21	25 - 26	16 - 17
818	32 - 33	21 - 22	26 - 27	
819			27 - 32	
820	33 - 35	22 - 24	33 - 34	17 - 18
821	35 - 37	24 - 26	33 - 35	18 - 19
822	37 - 38	26 - 27	38 - 39	19 - 21
823				20 - 23
824	38 - 39	27 - 29	32 - 34	18 - 19
825	35 - 36	24 - 25	34 - 35	23 - 25
826	39 - 44	29 - 33	35 - 38	
827	44 - 45	32 - 33	39 - 40	
828			40 - 42	
829			42 - 44	
830	55 - 57	40 - 42	49 - 50	25 - 26
831				26 - 28

	Matt. XXVII	Mark XV	Luke XXIII	John XIX
832	45 - 46	33 - 34	44 - 46	
833	46 - 48	34 - 36		
834	48 - 50	36 - 37	36 - 37	28 - 30
835	50 - 51	37 - 38	46 - 47	30 - 31
836	51 - 52	38 - 39	45 - 46	
837	52 - 54			
838	54 - 55	39 - 40	47 - 48	
839			48 - 49	
840				31 - 35
841				35 - 38
842	57 - 59	42 - 46	50 - 53	38 - 39
843	59 - 60	46 - 47	53 - 54	39 - 41
844	60 - 62	46 - .	53 - 56	41 - .
845	62 - 65			
846	65 - .			
		XVI		
847		1 - 2	56 - .	
	XXVIII			
848	2 - 5			
			XXIV	XX
849	1 - 2	2 - 3	1 - 2	1 - 2
850		3 - 5		
851		4 - 5	2 - 3	1 - 2
852			3 - 4	
853		5 - 6	4 - 5	

	Matt. XXVIII	Mark XVI	Luke XXIV	John XX
854	5 - 8	6 - 8	5 - 9	
855	8 - 9	8 - 9	9 - 11	2 - 3
856			11 - 12	
857			12 - 13	3 - 11
858				11 - 13
859				13 - 15
860	9 - 10	9 - 10		15 - 17
861	9 - 11			17 - 18
862		10 - 12		18 - 19
863	11 - 12			
864	12 - 16			
865			13 - 15	
	1 Cor. XV			
866	5 - 6		33 - 35	
867			15 - 17	
868			17 - 25	
869			25 - 28	
870			28 - 30	
871		12 - 13	30 - 32	
872		13 - 14	32 - 36	
873		14 - 15	36 - 41	19 - 21
874			41 - 44	
875				24 - 26

	Matt. XXVII	Mark	Luke XXIV	John XX	Acts I
876	17 - 18			26 - 30	
				XXI	
877				1 - 4	
878				4 - 7	
879				7 - 9	
880				9 - 12	
881				12 - 15	
882				15 - 20	
883				20 - 23	
884				23 - .	
		1 Cor. XV			
885	16 - 18	6 - 7			
886		7 - 8			
887		7 - 8			4 - 5
		Mar. XVI		XX	
888	18 - .	15 - 17	44 - 49	21 - 24	6 - 9
889	20 - .	17 - 19	49 - 50		4 - 9
890		19 - 20	50 - 52		9 - 10
891					10 - 12
892			52 - .		12 - 13
					Jo. XXI
893				30 - .	24 - .
894		20 - .			

THE manner in which the preceding Harmony is to be made use of, has already been explained; particularly in the 30th and 64th pages of this volume. In the latter place, St. Luke is the sole narrator; and in the former, the paragraph is to be constructed from the relations of all the four evangelists, who, with some variety of circumstances and expression, have agreed in recording the same transaction.

When the portions of scripture referred to consist intirely of historical matter, the paragraph drawn up by the student may be full and circumstantial, and at the same time compressed into a narrow compass: those portions, which are more of the doctrinal kind, necessarily require a little dilatation; especially, where the points of doctrine are declared in figurative terms. In such cases we must have recourse to the form of paraphrase, in order that the meaning of the sacred writer may be placed in its proper point of view. This part of the student's employment will especially require frequent references to parallel places, and therefore, at first, may appear irksome; a
little

little practice however will render it amusing, as well as instructive.

The student is advised to be particularly careful, that he does not adopt the expressions of those authors, whom he may be obliged occasionally to consult. The great end and aim of the exercise here recommended, is to imprint upon the mind such an idea of the actions and discourses of our redeemer, and of their most material concomitant circumstances, as may enable the student, from a consideration of the particularities of time, place, and occasion, to form a just and accurate conception of all the gospel doctrines; a knowledge which cannot be attained, unless the student, deviating from the manner of expression which he meets with in the scripture, or in the commentators upon it, constructs his paragraphs according to forms of expression conceived by himself.

Six of the first fourteen lines of references in the preceding tables, are instances wherein the paraphrastical method must be adopted: the following is a specimen of the proposed manner of execution, in the doctrinal as
well

well as historical parts of the gospels. The student will observe, that the interpretation which is given to the portions of St. John, differs from the sense which has usually been ascribed to those celebrated verses. The lecturer, by virtue of being a protestant, has a right to give that sense, which appears to him most just: the student has an equal right of adopting that interpretation, which appears to him most expressive of the meaning of the sacred text. The following exemplification is intended only as a model for his future studies; which he may safely imitate, without paying any further respect to the interpretation here offered, than in his opinion it deserves.

THE

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

1. THE preface of St. Luke, in which he vindicates to himself the liberty of drawing up a narrative of the gospel-history, by the example of other christians; he further claims it from the advantages which qualified him in a peculiar manner for the execution of such a work; the immediate end of his writing this history declared to be for the confirmation of his friend Théophilus in the faith of Christ. - - -

2. St. John intimates that the word, which Jesus and his apostles preached, from the beginning of time, lay concealed in the divine counsels; and, upon its revelation, was supported by a power derived from the creator of the world. The leading doctrine of the gospel, (viz. the resurrection of the dead) and its success in dispelling that intellectual and moral darkness, which then involved in thickest gloom every nation under heaven, are described in highly figurative terms -

Matth.	Mark	Luke	John
		I.	I.
		I - 5	
			I - 6

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

3. The sacred writer, reflecting upon the folly and perverseness of the human race, observes, that a per-
petuous and important revelation was indulged to man-
kind; a revelation, derived from the fountain of all
wisdom; a revelation, proceeding from the being
whose providence, though unnoticed, was daily mani-
fested in the course of nature, and the government of
the world which was created by his power; lastly, a
revelation, which was communicated to God's peculiar
people, though by that people ungratefully rejected. -
4. The distinguished privilege of the happy few, who
received the gospel, is declared. Upon acknowledg-
ment of their belief in the divine mission of Jesus, they
commenced the sons of God: an appellation, of which
they manifested themselves to be in some sort worthy;
as, by their renunciation of all title to it derived from
their ancestors, by their lowliness of mind, and ardent
love of virtue, they evidenced those dispositions which
are pleasing in God's sight. - - -

Matth.	Mark	Luke	John I.
			9 - 12
			12 - 14

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

5. It is asserted, that during the course of Jesus's ministration, the mighty power of the deity was gloriously resplendent in his person; and that the apostles, of whom John himself was one, were eye-witnesses of his miraculous works; works, which plainly evidenced him to be the highly favoured son of God. -

6. John further proceeds to shew that the person, who was commissioned to hold forth this light of revelation to mankind, communicated to his followers a portion of that authority and power, which he enjoyed as the delegate of heaven. - - - - -

7. The law and the gospel are compared; the superiority of the latter is pointed out, under a comparative view of the different degrees of divine illumination, with which the leaders of these different dispensations were favoured by the almighty. - - - - -

Matth.

Mark

Luke

John
I.

14-15

16-17

17-19

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

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8. The extraction of Zacharias, a jewish priest, and of Elizabeth his wife, who lived in the time of Herod king of Judea; they are described as strictly pious and just in their deportment, and, at the time when this history commences, childless, and both advanced in years. - - - - -

9. While Zacharias, discharging the functions of his sacred office according to the regulations of the priesthood, is engaged in burning incense on the altar, an angel suddenly appears to him in the temple. -

10. The surprize and consternation excited in the mind of Zacharias by so unusual an appearance, are dispelled by the assurances of the angel, that God had heard his prayer, and that Elizabeth should conceive, and bear a son; the manner of life, and distinguished office of the baptist are described by the angel. -

Matth. Mark Luke John

I.

5-8

8-13

13-18

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(130)

- | | Matth. | Mark | Luke | John |
|--|--------|------|---------------|------|
| 11. Zacharias, distrustful the accomplishment of this prediction, on account of his own, and Elizabeth's advanced age, requires a miraculous sign for confirmation of his faith: a sign is given; for in punishment of his disbelief he is struck with dumbness. - | | | I.
18 - 21 | |
| 12. The people, who were praying in the court of the temple, during the offering of incense, find upon his coming forth, that he is incapable of pronouncing the usual benediction, and at length perceive that he had seen a vision in the temple. - | | | 21 - 23 | |
| 13. Zacharias having fulfilled the days of his ministration, returns to his own house; probably at Hebron. | | | 23 - 24 | |
| 14. The conception of Elizabeth: the religious effects of her gratitude for this manifestation of the divine favour. - | | | 24 - 26 | |

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

THE six following pages contain a specimen of the Harmony completed, with respect to references, according to the method recommended in page 67.

In the execution of this scheme, the student will observe, that the additional references are to be noted down in smaller figures; in order that they may not be confounded with the primary references to the four evangelists.

					(131)	
Matthæw	Mark	Luke I	John I	Chronological Table. A. U. C.	Topological Table	
1	1 John I	4 - 5	John XX 31 - .	747		
2	Colossians I 24 - 28	1 John I 1 - 6	1 Timothy III 16 - .	I - 6		
3	John III 19 - 20	Titus II 11 - 13	2 Timothy I 8 - 11	9 - 12		I Cor. I 21 - 22
4	Romans VIII 14 - 17	1 John III 1 - 2	John III 3 - 4	12 - 14		
5	John II 11 - 12	Revelation XXI 3 - 4	Levit. XXVI 11 - 13	14 - 15		

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(132)

Matthew	Mark	Luke I	John I	Chronological Table A. U. C.	Topological Table
6 Matthew XIII 51 - 53	Colossians II 9 - 11	1 John IV 13 - 14	16 - 17	747	
7 John XIV 9 - 11	John VI 32 - 34	1 John IV 12 - 15	17 - 19	Numbers XII 5 - 9	Deut. XXXIV 10 - 11
8 1 Chron. XXIV 1 - 20	Lightfoot I. 915	5 - 8	Nehemiah XII 1 - 8	Lightfoot I. 401	
9 Exodus XXX 1 - 9	Hebrews IX 1 - 7	8 - 13	Lightfoot I. 942	June	
10 Malachi IV 5 - -	Numbers VI 1 - 22	13 - 18	John V 35 - 36	1 Kings XVIII 36 - 38	2 Kings I 8 - 9
11 Daniel IX 20 - 23		18 - 21	Genesis XV 8 - 9	Genesis XVIII 10 - 15	
12	Joseph. An. XIII. 10 - 3	21 - 23	Numbers VI 23 - -	Lightfoot I. 947	
13		23 - 24			
14	Isaiah LIV 4 - 5	24 - 26	Judges XIII 2 - 6	1 Samuel I 11 - 12	

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(133)

	Matthew I	Mark	Luke I	John	Chronological Table A. U. C. 747 December	Topological Table Isaiah IX 6 - 8
15		Daniel VII 13 - 15	26 - 34	Daniel II 44 - 45		
16	Matthew I 18 - 24	Genesis XVIII 9 - 15	34 - 39	Luke XXIV 49 - 50	1 Chren. XII 18 - 19	
17	18 - 19	Hebrews XI 11 - 12				
18		Luke XI 27 - 28	39 - 46	Joshua XV 48 - 61		
19	Genesis XVII 1 - 9	1 Samuel II 1 - 11	46 - 56	Isaiah XLI 8 - 15	Malachi III 11 - 13	
20			56 - 57	Luke I 26 - 27	748	
21		Genesis XXI 6 - 7	57 - 59	Luke XV 9 - 10	March 25	
22	Genesis XVII 10 - 15	Leviticus XII 2 - 4	59 - 65	Genesis XVII 5 - 6	April 1	
23	Genesis XXII 15 - 19	Isaiah IX 1 - 8	67 - 80	Acts III 17 - .	Jeremiah XXII 5 - 9	

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

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Matthew I	Mark	Luke I	John	Chronological Table A. U. C. 748 May	Topological Table
24 18 - 20	Deuter. XXII 13 - 22	Joseph. Ant. IV. 8. 23.	Deuter. XXIV 1 - 4		
25 20 - 24	Isaiah VII 1 - VIII 5	Jerem. XXXIII 14 - 19	Luke I 31 - 34		
26 24 - 25					
27					
28 Joseph An. XVIII. 1. 1.	1 Chron. IX 1 - 2				
29 1 Samuel XVII 12 - 13	1 Samuel XX 6 - 7				
30 I - 18	1 Chronicles I 34 - 35	1 Chronicles II 1 - 16	John VII 42 - 43 1 Chronicles III 1 - 18		
31 1 Genesis V 1 - .	Genesis XI 10 - 27		Ruth IV 17 - .		

65 - 67

II

I - 4

4 - 6

1 Chronicles II 1 - 16

III

23 - .

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(135)

Matthew I	Mark	Luke II	John	Chronological Table A. U. C. 748	Topological Table Jefus at Bethlehem.
32 25 - .	Matthew II 1 - 2	6 - 8		September 25	
33	Acts XXVI 13 - 14	8 - 13	Isaiah IX 6 - 8		
34	Luke XIX 37 - 39	13 - 15	Isaiah VI 1 - 4	Ephesians II 13 - 20	
35	Daniel VII 28 - .	15 - 21	Tobit XII 22 - .		
36 25 - .	Genesis XVII 9 - 15	21 - 22	Matthew I 21 - 22	October 2	
37 Leviticus XII 1 - .	Numb. XVIII 15 - 18	22 - 25	Exodus XIII 11 - 17	November 3	Jerusalem.
38	Isaiah XLII 1 - 8	25 - 33	Isaiah LII 9 - 11	Acts XIII 46 - 48	
39 1 Corinthians I 23 - 25	1 Peter II 6 - 9	33 - 36	John XIX 25 - 26	John XIX 34 - 35	Romans IX 30 - .
40	1 Timothy V 5 - 6	36 - 39			

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

Matthew II	Mark	Luke II	John	Chronological Table	Topological Table
41 1 - 4	Numb. XXIV 17 - 18	(Daniel V 11 - 13 Isaiah LX 1 - 7)	Daniel II 48 - 49	A. U. C. 749	Jesus at Bethlehem.
42 4 - 7	Mich. V 2 - 3	John VII 41 - 43	Sueton. VIII. 4.	Tacit. H. V. 13.	Josephus, B. J. VI 5, 4
43 7 - 9					
44 9 - 12	Psaln LXXII 8 - 16	Genesis XLIII 11 - 12	Genesis XLIII 25 - 29	1 Samuel X 26 - .	
45 12 - 13					
46 13 - 16	Hosea XI 1 - 2	Exodus IV 22 - 24	Numbers XXIV 8 - 9	December	In Egypt.
47 16 - 19	Jerem. XXXI 15 - 21	Macrobian, Sat. II. 4	Genesis XXXV 19 - 21		
48 19 - 22	Exodus IV 19 - 20			750	
49 22 - .	Joseph. An. XVII. 8, 2.	39 - 40	Isaiah LIII 1 - 4	John I 46 - 48	Nazareth.

L E T T E R S
O N T H E
S U B J E C T O F S U B S C R I P T I O N
T O T H E L I T U R G Y
A N D T H I R T Y - N I N E A R T I C L E S
O F T H E
C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D.

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L E T T E R I.

S I R,

I HAVE no occasion to inform you that a petition of the clergy, &c. in all probability will, in a short time, be submitted to you, as a member of the legislature. You have already considered the subject with some degree of attention. You have urged objections both to the subject matter, and mode of application, which are deserving of a reply; and I shall think myself happy, if the answers which I give you in all simplicity and plainness, shall lessen the weight of those prejudices you seem to have conceived both against the petitioners and their cause.

Upon

Upon the first mention of the intended application, you exclaimed, ‘ What have we to do, as laymen, with the affairs of the church? our prelates have made these matters the study of their lives, and you have a legislation and canons of your own; even with respect to lay concerns, we intermeddle not in cases which may be decided by the courts below; we are incompetent to the question; go to convocation, and to your bishops, for redress.’ And is it thus, Sir, as if our controversy were nothing more than a question of words and of names, that you intend to drive us from the judgment-seat? We will not go up to Jerusalem to be judged; we now stand at the proper tribunal; and Cæsar himself shall in due time be called upon to join in delivering us from that unworthy yoke of bondage, under which we so long have groaned*.

Permit

* It has been objected to the scheme of the petitioners, that the relief they seek is requested from an improper jurisdiction; and designs, which it is impossible they could ever think of accomplishing, have been injuriously imputed to them by their adversaries in this debate.

Permit me, Sir, to remind you, that the moderate clergy of these times lay claim to no higher authority than what is derived to

debate. The question is gravely put,—where will this rage of innovation end? I answer only for myself, yet I trust that I shall express the sentiments of many learned and worthy persons in this nation.

An *ex animo* subscription to the truth of systematical articles of religion, expressed in unscriptural terms, and an acknowledgment of the intire conformity of a set of obscure metaphysical propositions, to the plain and simple doctrine of the gospel, have long appeared grievous to individuals, injurious to the cause of true religion, and prejudicial to the interests of our excellent constitution both in church and state.

In an age dissipated as the present, nothing appears so likely to restore the moral and religious principle, as an affecting and unexceptionable form of public worship; but in order to effect this purpose, the present liturgy must be revised: the forms of ordination also require some amendment.

I assert not these things upon my own authority; nor will I attempt to prove my point from the writings of those who have been injuriously represented as the enemies of our establishment. I am content to rest the proof with respect to the matter of fact, and the measure of the proposed alterations, upon the testimony of those generous friends to religious liberty and virtue, who, in various periods of our constitution, have adorned the english church.

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to them from the civil magistrate and the laws of this realm. They are stiled indeed, not unfrequently, the ministers of Christ; and

Let all subscription to human formularies of faith and doctrine be utterly abolished.

Let the ordinals and forms of public worship partake of the improvement of the times. Here I would fix my foot; and were these things granted, I would resolutely oppose any further alteration in the church.

Let us now inquire concerning the mode of conducting alterations apparently so important to the interests of the community, and the authority by which they must be effected. The abolition of subscriptions, and the revisal of the liturgy, cannot with propriety be produced by the same jurisdiction, and at the same time.

Subscription to human formularies is required from many orders of the laity, as well as from the clergy. An act of parliament therefore can alone effect an adequate relief.

The measure for obtaining such relief, should originate in the house of commons, as the temporalities of the subject are concerned. Were the petitioners to intreat a revisal of the articles, the whole might be referred to convocation; but as a repeal of the laws injoining subscription to them is requested, the truth, or the congruity of them with scripture, does not come into the debate; —the expediency of an *ex animo* assent to them, in a protestant country, is the only subject of dispute;

and they justly are esteemed so, because their office obliges them to be occupied in the gospel of Christ. But with respect to their appoint-

dispute; and of this an house of commons may and ought to judge, without requesting any assistance from the church. A petition to the king for an abolition of subscription would be equally absurd; I should as soon expect to hear, from sensible men, of a petition to the king for a diminution of the land tax. Let us suppose, then, that, through the integrity and spirit of the commons, the wisdom of the lords, the humanity and the piety of the king, the petitioners are relieved from the necessity of subscribing their unfeigned assent to any humanly-devised formularies of faith.

A little reflection will shew, that this relief would be final with respect to one point, but as a preparatory step only to the completion of an intire reformation; the liturgy would still be read in our churches unimproved, under the penalties established by law.

In order to effect a complete reformation, therefore, a revival of the liturgy must follow in due time; but a question arises concerning the nature of the application. I will not be so presumptuous as to decide with respect to the part the house of commons, or the house of lords, might, upon a proper representation, take in the affair. Most assuredly the houses of convocation should not be consulted: the formal proposal for a revival must originate with the king; or, if this should be thought improper, a dutiful petition from the bishops and clergy, or either house of parliament, may hereafter
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appointment, and the prescribed rules of their conduct, they are the ministers of the state. The representatives of the people in parliament, united with the other two branches of the legislature, have given their sanction to christianity as the established religion of this land. As a member of a protestant community, every englishman maintains the authority and sufficiency of the holy scriptures in all points necessary to salvation; and by a charter derived from the
 God

be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to appoint a commission of bishops, and other learned persons, both of the laity and clergy, to revise the ordinals and established forms of public worship. They should enter upon their task with all proper assistances; and when completed, should submit the liturgy thus revised, to the legislature of the nation, who should establish the use of it in our churches, in that manner which seems to them expedient. The plan of reformation would be then completed.

But the request of the present petitioners reaches only to the repeal of those laws which injoin subscription to humanly-devised formularies of faith; and the propriety of such request should be submitted to the representatives of the people, who, exclusively of all others, are the proper persons to apply to, in a case which so immediately affects the temporalities of the subject.

God of reason and the gospel; a charter, which, as it interferes not with any temporal jurisdiction, cannot justly be controuled by human authority; he claims the unalienable privilege of interpreting those scriptures for himself. In these circumstances, and with these privileges, a subject of the crown of England becomes a licensed teacher of the gospel. He is qualified for his office according to forms, which derive their whole validity from the laws. At the time of this legal ordination he solemnly declares, that “ he is persuaded that the holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through Jesus Christ; that he is determined out of the same scriptures to instruct the people committed to his charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the scripture:” an engagement which certainly allows him to interpret those scriptures as right reason, the analogy of faith, and sound criticism, shall direct; an engagement, which, far from

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binding him to one uniform system of opinions obligatory through life, lays him under the necessity, not only of changing, but of avowing the alteration of his opinion, with respect to the sense of scripture, as often as better knowledge and maturer consideration shall suggest. But the exercise of this natural liberty of man, of this glorious liberty of the christian, of this reasonable liberty of the protestant teacher in an english church, is eventually annihilated by an obligation, intirely inconsistent with the preceding declaration ; an obligation wherein he *EX ANIMO* declares, and by his subscription acknowledges certain interpretations of these scriptures, certain systematical articles and confessions of faith and doctrine, though confessedly of uninspired original, to be, all and every of them, agreeable to the word of God.

I will only, Sir, request you for a moment to reflect, whether a person who is laid under the latter obligation, and necessitated to conform to it by the additional weight of penal inflictions, can possibly fulfil the former solemn engagement, whereby
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he promises to preach nothing but what he himself shall be persuaded may be proved by the scripture? Or whether it is probable that such minister will be diligent to study God's word, or employ his natural powers and acquired knowledge in the investigation of God's will as therein revealed, who is prohibited from interpreting God's word, or declaring God's will, otherwise than is set down in a prescribed formulary, in which the law will not endure the least variation or diversity of judgment?

This inconsistency in the laws of England, is the private grievance of many individuals; is the public reproach of a protestant state. This is an inconsistency which the parliament of Great Britain can remove, both as possessing a jurisdiction paramount to all other jurisdictions, and as having itself been over-persuaded to lend its sanction to the grievance of which the petitioners complain. The interference of all other jurisdictions would be impertinent; and the attempt of high churchmen to arrogate to themselves the authority of judging and deciding in this question, would subject them

to the imputation of having deserved a censure, if possible, more severe than that to which too many of them have manifested an inclination of subjecting those of their brethren, who, by waving an application to their superiors in the church, have shewed, that they think not so presumptuously of the powers annexed to their calling.

I shall take the liberty of troubling you with my further thoughts upon this subject in some future letters; in which I shall endeavour to shew, by additional arguments, that the grievances in question are, in strict propriety, within the cognizance of a british parliament; that they are worthy objects of parliamentary inquiry and redress; that the imposition of any articles of faith, as explanatory of the scriptures, amounts to a solemn renunciation of the sufficiency of those scriptures; that such practice must necessarily be attended with a large portion of the intolerant spirit, the most odious concomitant of popish superstition; and that the ratification of the thirty-nine articles of the english church, by the authority of parliament, virtually amounts, with respect to
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points of doctrine of high concernment to the interests of the community, to an authoritative renunciation of the holy scriptures themselves.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

HAVING, in my former letter, endeavoured to remove some of those prejudices against that mode of application which the clerical petitioners have adopted, I shall beg your permission, in this, to point out to your observation some of those circumstances which render the question of subscription interesting to the public, and therefore highly worthy of a parliamentary discussion.

In order to do this in a manner the least liable to subsequent objections, it will be necessary to ascend to some of the first and leading principles of the social compact.

I must own, I am not naturally inclined to encourage any great partiality in favour

of the bishop of Gloucester; * yet it cannot be denied, but that he has shewn, in a very masterly manner, the necessity of a religious principle, in order to inforce the observance of the duties of imperfect obligation.

Whatever may have been the private sentiments of statesmen; however contradictory to each other may have been their tenets; however sceptical in their principles; however profligate in their practice; they are united in believing, that a general persuasion in the people of the reality of an over-ruling providence, and of a future state of retribution, together with an establishment providing for the inculcating these upon the subject, are essentially necessary to the very existence as well as to the prosperity of a state.

If something like this be not the case, it is surely a very culpable profusion of the public treasure, that his grace of Canterbury and my lord of Durham, should receive annually their ten thousands for countenancing religion, and perhaps ten thousand others each their fifties, for preaching it.

Taking

Taking this fact then for granted, and the reasonableness of it being allowed, that some hundreds of thousands of pounds are annually expended for the purpose of generating, inculcating, and supporting the religious principle, a question arises,—whether the establishment, as now circumstanced, fully answers that end?

But in order to judge upon this subject with more precision, let us feign to ourselves an utopian establishment of religion; an establishment which shall be assisting to the honest views of the magistrate, consolatory to the individual, and friendly to the general interest of mankind.

For instance, let us suppose, that in one happy kingdom of the earth, CHRISTIANITY, as contained in the scripture, without the addition of any human articles or formularies of faith, should be the established religion of the land.

A person who is a subject in such a kingdom, may be understood to be always willing to declare the sufficiency of the scriptures; that they are “profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for in-

struction in righteousness." He may further be understood to believe, that " God in the beginning created the heavens and the earth;" that " he dwelleth not in temples made with hands;" that " he is the blessed and only potentate, the king of kings, and lord of lords;" that " he giveth to all life and breath, and all things;" that " he causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man;" that " the eyes of all wait upon him, that he may give them their meat in due season; when he openeth his hand, they are filled with good; when he hideth his face, they are troubled; when he taketh away their breath, they die, and are turned again to their dust."

A member of such an ideal establishment may be understood to profess, that " to him there is but one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."

He will agree with St. Paul, that " the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

A member of such an establishment may be

be also understood to profess it to be his real persuasion and belief, that there is a day appointed, in which “ God will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.”

A person who acknowledged himself to be a member of such an establishment, would be a good subject, if he acted agreeably to his professions. He would be “ subject to principalities and powers; he would obey magistrates, and be ready to do every good work.” He would be a practiser of every social virtue, a friend to the most lasting interests of all mankind; as he professes, that “ all the law is fulfilled in one word, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”

But in order to be qualified as a licensed teacher under such an establishment, more may very reasonably be expected. The changing circumstances, and state of party in a nation, may require still further securities. Let us inquire what in reason they might be.

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Such licensed teacher might enter into the following engagement with the state, provided the state authorises and supports his mission.

1. He might first make the declaration contained in my preceding letter, in the presence of the person or persons who are appointed by the civil power to ordain him.

2. He might further declare in the words of the protestant oath, appointed to be taken by the fellows of most colleges in the university of Cambridge, " I A. B. do promise in the presence of God, that I will heartily and stedfastly adhere to the true religion of Christ, and prefer the authority of holy scripture before the opinions of men; that I will make the word of God the rule of my faith and practice, and look upon other things which are not proved out of the word of God as human only; that I will readily, with all my power, oppose doctrines contrary to the word of God; that in matters of religion I will prefer truth before custom, what is written before what is not written."

3. He

3. He might take the oath of allegiance to the person of the king.

4. He might take the oath of supremacy, wherein he renounces all foreign jurisdiction.

5. He might take an oath against simony in the presence of the ordinary.

6. He might take an oath of canonical obedience to his ordinary.

7. He might make a solemn renunciation of the leading and essential tenets of popery, according to the form of declaration required of every member of parliament, before he is permitted to take his seat in either house, and for the same reasons.

8. Penal inflictions might be incurred, in case of a failure in reading the liturgy as established by law.

A licensed teacher professing such religion, declaring such resolutions, and under such obligations, would, in all probability, fulfil the purpose of the state in his appointment.

If these oaths and declarations would not bind him to the performance of his duty, and, at the same time, be a sufficient security
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to the state, it is impossible that any can be conceived by the wit of man, which will answer these purposes.

Let the offices of ordination and Burn's Ecclesiastical law be consulted under the heads "Benefice," "Oaths," "Ordination" and "Public Worship;" and it will be found, that all these securities, except the protestant oath of Elizabeth, and the declaration of the 30th of Charles the second, are already required of every person to be admitted to a benefice in the english church.

Let me then, Sir, recommend to your serious consideration, till you hear from me again, the following query, with its answer:—what is wanted to realize the preceding utopian establishment in our country?

Ans. Little more than the repealing one chapter of the 13th of Elizabeth, and a few clauses of the last act of uniformity; the reasons for promulging which are now happily no more.

In a future letter, I shall endeavour to shew, among other matters, that the continuance of the statutes injoining subscriptions,

tions, not only defeat the good purposes to be expected from all the other customs and statutes relating to this subject—not only render that ecclesiastical corporation, which is called, though improperly, the church, an unnecessary burden, instead of an useful servant of the state; but have also contributed to the growth of atheism, irreligion, and profaneness; and, if not quickly repealed, will, in all human probability, utterly annihilate the small remainder of true religion and virtue in our land.

L E T T E R I I I.

S I R,

IN my first letter to you upon the subject of subscriptions, I endeavoured to convince you, that a requisition of them to systematical confessions of faith and doctrine, reduces to a state of inefficiency that more important and really useful engagement of the christian minister, which binds him to the preaching of whatever he himself

self shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved from the words of holy writ.

In my second, after demonstrating the necessity of a legal establishment for the purpose of inculcating the religious principle upon the mind of every member of the community, I endeavoured to satisfy you, that the sanctions which would remain, after the laws relating to subscription were repealed, would be abundantly sufficient for that salutary purpose—would effectually guard against all opinions and practices that might prove prejudicial to the state.

In this, I shall beg your attention to a few observations upon the inconsistency of our churchmen, in maintaining the sufficiency of the scriptures, at the same time that they plead for an established interpretation of them. In the discussion of this argument, I shall consider you as not unacquainted with those leading principles of protestantism, upon which we affect to justify our separation from the church of Rome; and, as a member of the british senate, shall suppose you to be well versed in those political reasons which were assigned for disclaiming
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her jurisdiction ; reasons which clearly evidenced her exercise of dominion in our land to be incompatible with the rights of our imperial crown.

But in clearing this matter, we must make some previous observations upon the papal authority, which has too often, I think, been considered in an improper point of view.

The distinct ideas of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction were adopted long before the elevation of the roman pontiff to an ill-grounded pre-eminence among his brethren.

For some hundred years before that memorable event, the authority claimed by the church was equal, if not, in some points, superior, to what the pope exercised in the plenitude of his power, and may be, in part, accounted for in the following manner :

The persecutions which christianity endured in the second and third centuries, many of which are to be ascribed to the ambitious claims and practices of its prelates, compelled its professors to form a society in opposition to the state. The regulations of this society, with respect to its govern-

government and discipline in the times of persecution, gave it a stability, and even an independency, after the state had acceded to the faith.

Hence the conversion of the empire to christianity may be more properly stiled the victory and the triumph of one community stiled “the church,” over another community called “the state,” which had so long conflicted with it, but was at length found unable to resist its power.

The claims of the clergy still increased, until, at length, the civil rights and possessions of men were annihilated or absorbed in the all-devouring power and patrimony of the church. The event was a despotic power of the priest to impose whatever doctrines he thought fit, joined with an absurd and senseless superstition, which soon entombed in one gloomy grave whatever was valuable of the arts, the learning, and the religion of mankind.

Popery, properly speaking, was nothing more than the change of clerical jurisdiction from the republican, or rather aristocratical, to the monarchical form. Many of the ger-
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man reformers nobly vindicated, and justly asserted, the right of private judgment, in opposition to this authority: but this was not the case with us. Our boasted reformation, in fact, was little more than an act of justifiable rebellion against our spiritual head; wherein we renounced the dominion of the universal monarch, and set up a spiritual head of our own.

But the pretended right to an authority in controversies of faith, which churchmen claimed, while united under one visible head, was asserted and exercised with the same pertinacity as before. While the power of the priest or sovereign pontiff remained unshaken and unquestioned, subscriptions indeed were not heard of; for where the right to a despotic dominion is acknowledged by a blind submission to the ruling powers, a declaration of assent to articles would be superfluous, and would imply a latent right of private judgment. Our ancestors reposed an implicit confidence in their ghostly fathers; and therefore, with respect to the number and absurdity of the impositions, their case was more deplorable than ours:

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but with respect to the too probable permanency of these innovations upon the gospel, and some other circumstances, our case perhaps may be more deplorable than theirs.

An equality between the two powers which are represented as contracting with each other, is all that is now contended for : and the more humble term of an “ alliance ” between the church and state, as contained in the schemes of De Marca and Warburton, serves to express the high church notions of these times. But every claim of the church to an independent jurisdiction, which, in the remotest degree, affects the temporalities of its members, is utterly indefensible. The church of England, considered with respect to the actual exertion of any power, should be considered as a society of men incorporated for the purpose of teaching the religion of the gospel—is the creature—is the servant of the state; and therefore, like other corporations, has no authority to enact or impose any thing which affects the liberty of the subject.

With respect to the Gloucestrian fiction, thanks to the civil powers! all apprehension

sion of danger from it is removed as far as relates to the fabrication of new articles. The church indeed continues to assert that she has authority in controversies of faith; but her constitutional representative, the convocation, has not sitten for some time, and it is to be hoped will never sit again.

However, before this assembly had entirely lost its jurisdiction by the absurdity of its claims, and its credit by its personal abuse, some of its members drew up a set of decisions and decrees, and had influence enough with the state, to get them bound upon their successors in their own profession, by an iniquitous law; had influence enough, with a pedantic and an arbitrary king, to get them also bound upon every other profession of men, who, in the remotest degree, might affect their interest and power. But while these laws and ordinances which enjoin subscription to human articles, and formularies of faith, shall be permitted to remain, the reformation is so far from being completed, that, in fact, with respect to a material part of it, it is but just begun. The bishops, whose power and

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influence are truly formidable, will continue to make these articles the only tests of orthodox belief; they will examine in them at their ordinations, and neglect the scriptures; they will discourage the reading of these scriptures with a papistical apprehension, almost amounting to a reprobation of the word of God. Upon a nearer view, academical men might see the absurdity of these famous monuments of human weakness, and might suspect an opposition between these articles drawn up by fallible men, and the infallible word of God; and therefore in the universities, the bishops and the heads of houses will discourage all attention to them both*. An intolerant spirit, joined with a senseless superstition, the

* A person of high station in the church has in his hands authentic evidences of some facts, which, unless the evil be very speedily remedied, may be appealed to as proofs, that these consequences of subscriptions have actually taken place.—See Dr. Powell's "Defence of subscription, &c. in a sermon, preached before the university of Cambridge, on commencement Sunday, 1757;" and since republished in a volume of his "Discourses on various subjects, 1766."—See also the last of Dr. Hallifax's "Three sermons," preached before the same university and published at the request of the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses, 1772.

the natural fruit of ignorance, will take deep root; an universal depravity of manners, a want of every principle which dignifies the soul of man, must inevitably succeed. And therefore with respect to morals, religious learning, and church power, our only change will be, as the very sensible author of a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury has expressed it, “ we shall have an aggregate of popes, instead of one.” *

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* [See “ A letter, &c. on the subject of the intended petition to parliament,” 1771. p. 29, and] this sentiment seems in part to be confirmed by the following passage in D’Ewe’s Journal, p. 239.

Mr. Peter Wentworth, in a speech in the house of commons, inveighing against a message of the queen to the house, “ that they should not deal in any matters of religion, but first to receive from the bishops” (for which speech he was afterwards sent to the tower) expresseth himself thus: “ I have heard of old parliament-men, that the banishment of the pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this house, and not from the bishops; and I have heard, that few laws for religion had their foundation from them. And I do surely think, (before God I speak it) that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message; and I will shew you what moveth me so to think. I was, amongst others, the last parliament, sent unto the bishop of Canterbury for the articles of religion that then passed this house. He asked me, why we did put out of the book the arti-

Is it not therefore, Sir, a solemn farce and mockery of God, for our churchmen to assert the sufficiency of the holy scriptures in all things necessary to salvation, and yet to insist upon our assent to articles conceived in unscriptural terms? If the scriptures are sufficient unto salvation, a churchman can have no honest reasons for wishing the establishment of any formulary of faith and doctrine besides those scriptures; and that the statesman has reason to be satisfied without subscription to such formularies, I think may be collected from my second letter.

But, before I dismiss this subject, I must take notice of a favourite argument, which has been often urged to evince the necessity of

cles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the word of God. What, said he, surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein? No, by the faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes; make you popes who list, said I, for we will make you none: and sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a pope-like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the pope's canons unto themselves, *Papa non potest errare*."

of subscription to systematical confessions and human articles of faith. It has been pleaded, that although the sufficiency of the scriptures is allowed, yet explanations of those scriptures are highly edifying, even when such explanations are conceived in human words. The utility of discourses from the pulpit must be granted; the sense of scripture may be thereby made clearer and more determinate; why then may it not be allowed to fix the sense of scripture in an established formulary of faith?

In the first place, this argument would prove too much. It would prove that there was no necessity for such discourses at all, the articles alone would answer every end which could be supposed to be the preacher's view.

In the next place, we should consider, that in the case of expositions of scripture from the pulpit, or the press, although the expounder should endeavour to shew the conformity of his doctrine to the word of God by sober argument, sound criticism, and rational inquiry; yet we have the liberty of rejecting his interpretations, if we think we

have got better of our own. But the exercise of this power of judging for ourselves is utterly annihilated in the case of a subscription to an established formulary; the preacher's powers are tied up, he is prohibited from giving us his own interpretation, and the hearer must acquiesce, for the want of a better, in the interpretation already given by the church.

We may talk then of the sufficiency of the scriptures as we please; but while the laws establishing subscription to human formularies remain, the voice of the articles shall alone be heard; the ignorance and superstition of mankind shall for a while preserve the shadow of religion in our land, but its substance shall be no where found. Improvements in science and the arts shall at length disclose the astonishing absurdity of our national faith. The scriptures shall be disbelieved, because their genuine simplicity and excellence are concealed by designing men from human view; the articles shall be disbelieved, because they are held forth to it.

The legal establishment therefore in our
country

country does not answer the end it was intended to promote. It does not tend to generate, to inculcate, and to cultivate the sense of religion in the minds of men. It too often produces the reverse. It should therefore, Sir, be either abolished or reformed.

L E T T E R IV.

S I R,

THE thirty-nine articles of the church of England are established by authority of parliament, as well as by ecclesiastical fancies. It should therefore seem, that, at the time of their establishment, our ancestors conceived the belief of them to be of high importance to every member of society, and considered them as points of doctrine worthy of being planted in every english breast.

But we trust the legislature of this day will, upon a fair and candid inspection of these articles, form a very different judgment; and I hope, Sir, to make it appear to you, that if the ministers of the gospel
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were to proceed in the execution of their charge upon this idea, they must preach away the common sense of nine parts in ten of those who hear them, and effect a still more deplorable change upon the hearts of the remainder.

The first article of our church professes to treat of faith in the holy trinity; an expression not to be found in scripture, a doctrine not connected with the performance of a single duty in social life. A man may believe the contrary, and yet be a good christian, a good father, a good master, a good husband, a good citizen, and a good friend. A speculative divine, therefore, should be indulged in the liberty of believing this article, of subscribing it, and of writing about it, if he please; but I am so far from thinking it expedient that such an article should be established by an act of the state, that I should rather wish the clergy, who are the hired servants of the state, for the purpose I have so often mentioned, of inculcating the religious principle, might be prohibited from preaching upon a subject of so inflammatory a contexture, and which, by
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its very nature, has an obvious tendency to destroy all rational religion, with mutual love and charity, its fairest fruits.

With respect, then, to the first article, in order to make it of any use, the title should be changed; it should be said to treat, not of the trinity, but of the unity of God; and the latter part of it should be expunged, not because it is false, but because it is unintelligible, unless by men of very elevated minds. *

If the first article is faulty, the second is like unto it, and the subscription of the teacher to its truth should by no means be insisted on. It defines with a logical, or rather chemical precision, what never was comprehended, or ever can be comprehended, by the help of those rational powers which we now enjoy.

As for the third article, which treats of
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* Dr. Hallifax asserted, in one of his "Three sermons" preached at Cambridge, that the three persons of the godhead "were united though distinguished, distinguished though but one." The expression was heard by hundreds; but, with many others of a similar import, was not thought worthy of being retained in the printed copies.

the going down of Christ into hell, I cannot conceive how the state can be interested in the decision of such a question. I may believe him to be the author of my salvation, and act accordingly, without believing that he assailed the devil in his own dominions; as the compilers of our articles certainly supposed he did.

The fourth article contains two very important points of doctrine. It treats, though in a manner not absolutely exceptionable, upon the resurrection and ascension of our Lord. But every person who believes the scriptures cannot but believe these doctrines, and therefore a subscription to them is unnecessary. The legislature, however, may so far interfere with propriety, as to injoin the preaching upon them, on account of their manifest connection with the practice of piety and virtue.

With respect to the fifth article, it is only an expansion of a part of the proposition which concludes the first. It recalls to our remembrance that unchristian controversy, which was long maintained between contending churchmen upon the holy ghost's procession

procession from the son. The belief of it is not naturally connected with the practice of any social duty. Many have believed the divine mission of Jesus, without supposing this procession. It is unwise, therefore, to append emoluments to the profession of such faith.

Were I a member of that assembly in which you, Sir, early evidenced the possession of all those virtues which can ornament the head and heart, I would seriously propose a subscription to the sixth article alone as a proper substitute for subscription to all the rest. It contains the discriminating character of true protestantism. It asserts the sufficiency of the holy scriptures for salvation. But the privilege of interpreting those scriptures for ourselves, which seems to be the natural consequence of the sufficiency maintained in this article, is intirely abrogated by the imposition of the remaining thirty-eight.

Laws are instituted to prevent real, not imaginary dangers to the state. I do not suppose that there is a single person in the kingdom who, if subscriptions were removed,

moved, would apprehend the common law in danger of being superseded by the mosaic code.

The negative of the most material part of this seventh article has been ably supported by the right reverend author of the Divine Legation, who has more than once endeavoured to bring down theological vengeance upon others, on the mere suspicion of their taking the same liberty of private judgment, which he has so remarkably exercised himself. Should these papers ever fall in the way of that gentleman, he will understand me, when I say, that he has ventured, in a very public manner, to accuse a member of the church of England of a departure from his subscriptions, but, though solemnly called upon, has not chosen to attempt a confirmation of his charge by the proper evidences.

A man that subscribes the eighth article, virtually unsubscribes the sixth.

The ninth article treats of original, or birth sin; but the state has to do with those sins only which are committed after birth.

I would gladly avoid the consideration of
the

the eight following articles, of which the fourteenth alone can be of any use. I am satisfied that, upon perusal of them, no english senator will see the necessity of binding these metaphysical subtilties upon the consciences of those, who are sent forth, by the civil power, to instruct the people in the necessity of obedience to the laws of God and man. While they continue unintelligible, they are useless. When understood, they are prejudicial, nay, even dangerous, to the state: they strike at the root of all morality, the state's surest safeguard and support; and if the gospel speak a different language, which I trust it does, the establishment of these articles by the authority of parliament amounts to an authoritative renunciation of that gospel, in such points of faith and doctrine; a danger always to be apprehended when the state lends its sanctions to any systematical confessions whatsoever, conceived in unscriptural terms.

The doctrine contained in the eighteenth article is equally abhorrent from christian charity and christian truth. All preaching upon it should be discouraged by the state;
it

it would promote the growth of intolerance, the practice of every evil work.

The insertion of the nineteenth is a melancholy evidence of the folly and presumption of high church men, denying infallibility to every community of christians, that excepted to which themselves belong.

I have already, under the signature of "Paulinus," in this paper, attempted to explain the real meaning and natural consequences of the twentieth article.* It is fraught with the very essence of genuine popery. It tends to elevate the priest above the king. The doctrine therefore contained in it should not only be discouraged, but proscribed by the state; nor would it be contrary to sound policy, if every civil society should, for its own security against designing churchmen, injoin subscription to the following article: "the church hath NOT authority in controversies of faith."

The twenty-first article asserts, in part,
what

* The second letter addressed to the Cambridge undergraduates, wherein this subject is treated of, appeared before this, in the "Whitehall Evening-post;" but is now inserted after it for obvious reasons.

what is more fully declared in the sixth, viz. the sufficiency of the scriptures; and therefore is unnecessary.

The three next are reasonable enough: but upon the same plea that these are inserted into the confession of the national faith, ten thousand other propositions, of equal import, might plead for admittance within the pale of the establishment.

As to the twenty-fifth, with those that follow to the thirty-second, though some may appear expedient as tests to exclude the papists, yet others have an immediate tendency to keep up that spirit of contention between polemical divines, which for the public good of the community, as well as christian charity, should be discountenanced, instead of being encouraged by the state. The papist is sufficiently guarded against, by declarations of another kind; and with respect to the rest, it may be observed, once for all, that the apparent truth of a doctrine, or its supposed congruity with scripture are not the only circumstances to be considered, when a question is moved concerning the propriety of its establishment.

ment. The awful sanction of the legislature should be only lent to those, which immediately tend to render individuals good citizens and good men.

The thirty second article, maintaining the lawfulness of the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons, is rendered unnecessary by the general temper of the times. And I cannot easily be brought to think that, if subscription to this article should be removed, any bishop, priest, or deacon, will hesitate about the lawfulness of marrying, when other circumstances shall render it fitting and convenient.

As for the avoiding excommunicated persons; reason, scripture, humanity, and the good of the community, with one voice cry out against such a relic of inquisitorial jurisdiction; and, if an article of this kind be necessary, require that the negative of this should be subscribed.

With respect to the thirty-fourth I shall only observe, that if the authority of the magistrate, in any point to which his jurisdiction reacheth, and in which the means of conviction are so open, as in the case before us,
cannot

cannot be supported by penalties, it will never be supported by declarations and subscriptions.

Whether the homilies “ contain a godly and an wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times,” you best will judge, when you have read them. The article enjoins the reading of them in our churches. I shall only say, that were any clergyman to obey the injunction, his clerk would be his only auditor.

The calling upon us to allow the excellence of the forms of consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, can answer no good purpose. The persons ordained sufficiently shew their approbation of them, by submitting to them, as modes appointed by the state.

The oath of supremacy, taken by every person called upon to subscribe the articles, renders subscription to the thirty-seventh absolutely unnecessary.

That the goods of men are not held in common, which is the subject of the thirty-eighth article, every person will know to his cost, who by force invades them, or by fraud endeavours to purloin them.

The last article, maintaining the lawfulness of oaths, may safely be omitted. Articles might be increased to an indefinite number, if every regulation, adopted for the purposes of civil society, must also receive the sanction of the church.

These imperfect observations may lead you to a conviction, with respect to some truths of considerable importance in the present controversy. I shall mention a few which appear to me as such, and then shall take my leave.

First, that the requiring of assent to any explanatory articles of faith and doctrine, amounts to a declaration, that the scriptures are not sufficiently explicit in those points, which concern the future welfare of individuals, or the present welfare of the state.

Secondly, that upon the supposition these doctrines are selected by the state as a kind of directory for the preacher's labours, the majority of them are not sufficiently important to deserve the countenance of the legislature; as they are very remotely connected with those points of practice, on which a public teacher should insist.

Thirdly

Thirdly, that the requisition of subscription to them is an invasion of the dearest rights of men, a temptation to insincerity and prevarication in those, who should stand the clearest of such imputations, and must powerfully obstruct all further knowledge in the scriptures.

Fourthly, that very many of these articles, so far from having a tendency to promote real piety and virtue, appear to inculcate a spirit of contention, and to produce intolerance; and, by stating the terms of the divine favour as consisting in faith alone, eventually encourage every species of impiety and vice.

Fifthly, that it is morally impossible to have a learned, a conscientious, a laborious, and an useful clergy, while the laws relating to subscription shall remain.

And therefore, lastly, that the present, as well as the future welfare of every individual in the english nation, calls aloud for their repeal.

A N A D D R E S S
T O T H E G E N T L E M E N
O F T H E
U N I V E R S I T Y O F C A M B R I D G E,
W H O I N T E N D P R O P O S I N G T H E M S E L V E S,
T H E E N S U I N G J A N U A R Y,
A S C A N D I D A T E S F O R T H E D E G R E E
O F B A C H E L O R I N A R T S. *

L E T T E R I.

G E N T L E M E N,

As it is my persuasion, that with the usual literary accomplishments requisite to the degree which you propose soliciting, a love of sincerity and ingenuous dealing is united; suffer me to hint my thoughts upon a subject which appears to me highly worthy of your most attentive consideration.

You will shortly be called upon to declare your unfeigned assent to a set of propositions,

[* The four following letters were originally published in the months of November and December 1771.]

tions, to a form of worship, to a collection of rites and ceremonies—in a manner, which will throw upon you the worst imputation that can be cast upon men of honour and on christians, unless you absolutely and intirely approve them.

Unless, therefore, you prefer the reputation of being esteemed able disputants, to the heart-felt satisfaction of knowing yourselves to be honest men, you will suspend the present course of your studies, until you have satisfied yourselves with respect to the truth and propriety of those articles and forms ; to the full approbation of which you declare, that you WILLINGLY and EX ANIMO subscribe.

It is not my intention to send you to those ingenious expositors, who will torture your imagination with a thousand interpretations, many of them contrary to each other, and all of them, perhaps, to scripture and to common sense ; but barely to point out to you a course of study, similar to what you are now pursuing in philosophical subjects, and which must be resolutely and conscientiously engaged in, unless you would

chuse that the imputation of ignorance, indolence, prevarication, or down-right dishonesty, should stand as a recorded charge against you, in your first public act of life.

The first five articles, to the truth of which you are required to bear the most solemn testimony, relate to the faith in the holy trinity; the nature, history, and offices of the second person in that trinity; the personality, majesty, and glory of the holy ghost. To be satisfied in these respects, the shortest way is to consult your Bibles. These points of faith are declared with sufficient precision in the articles: it is your business to see how far they are agreeable to the word of God; and, if they be found in your apprehension discordant with it, to bear your testimony against them, by refusing to subscribe them.

The sixth article is very just; but as the whole western world were once of a different persuasion with respect to a point asserted in it, it will be your duty to inquire into the nature of protestantism, and get some idea of the arguments whereby that best of causes

is

is maintained against the bigotry and sophistry of papal Rome.

You are, from conviction, to form such an idea of the correspondency between the old and new Testament as will enable you to subscribe the seventh article of your church without a doubt.

In the affair of the three creeds, the conformity of which with scripture you must profess, there may be some difficulty. You must read them with diligence and care; and if you really can reconcile the dogmatical parts of Athanasius's, with the unsystematic language of the new Testament; and his intolerant spirit, with the mild and meek demeanour of your saviour, you may then believe him to be a christian, and subscribe his creed.

The ninth article seems to allow some little latitude in a point of small importance; but from thence to the nineteenth article exclusive, your attention will be called to doctrines which have much agitated the world with learned contests and opposite decisions; but to which, though expressed in
forms

forms of human speech, your full, intire, and unreserved assent must be subscribed.

The nineteenth article, though not so prolix as some of the preceding, contains abundant matter for your serious consideration. It gives you a definition of the visible church of Christ. You are to satisfy yourselves of the justness of this definition, that is to say, of its conformity with the scripture doctrine on this subject. It moreover asserts that the churches of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioch, have erred. But with what confidence can you pretend to throw so severe a reflection upon large assemblies of men, without examining their history and peculiar tenets? You would resent such ungenerous treatment in your own cases. Were any reflection of the like sort to be thrown upon the church of England, upon the university of Cambridge, upon your private colleges, you would at least demand that such bold impugner would condescend to point out the particular instances which deserve such reproach. With respect indeed to the church of Rome, it has been usual with us, upon all occasions, to give her the worst of characters,

ters, infomuch that we have thought no name too bad to exprefs our abhorrence of her abominations ; yet even this I am afraid is often done without the proper knowledge and conviction, and is often perhaps attended with a fpirit of intolerance equal to her own. But I would have you, whom I am now addreffing, fully fatisfied of the guilt, before you fet your names to any imputation of it ; ever recollecting how defpicable is the appearance of the man, who folemnly objects a charge, which he is not able to make good.

I fhall referve the remainder of the articles for a future paper ; what I have already pointed out to your attention will be fufficient to employ you 'till you hear from me again. You may perhaps object the want of time for the confideration of fuch matters. It is a ferious objection, and your fuperiors are much to blame for fubjecting you to the neceffity of fubfcribing at an age, and in circumftances, when you have neither fufficient affiftances, nor fufficient leifure for the inquiry. They are to anfwer for the, perhaps, illegal, and unftatutable impofition ; but the
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conscientious compliance with this imposition is intirely your concern.

It has been said, that an attempt will shortly be made to relieve you from this cruel alternative, of subjecting yourselves either to the charge of insincerity, or of losing your degrees. Most heartily do I pray for its success.

L E T T E R II.

GENTLEMEN,

PRESUMING upon your favourable indulgence, I take the liberty of addressing you a second time upon the subject of subscriptions.

We have already briefly considered the first nineteen articles of our church. The twentieth will require a little of that steady attention, which you know to be necessary for the investigation of mathematical truth. And, after all, I will not promise you a satisfaction in the discovery, equally grateful
with

with the sensation which, without doubt, you have frequently experienced in the enucleation of a Newtonian proposition.

In the twentieth article then it is asserted, that “the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.”

As the visible church of Christ is considered, by our articles, as a congregation of faithful men; without doubt it has a power of decreeing any rites, and ceremonies, and forms, which the members of it can agree upon. We will therefore now only inquire what kind of authority such congregation can lawfully exercise in matters of faith.

And first, with respect to the meaning of the word “auctoritas,” we will take the celebrated words of Tertullian for our guide. They are as follow: “*Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis confessum sanctificatus.*” Now, as Tertullian was a lawyer, we must explain his terms according to the legal ideas of the times. The word “auctoritas” then, according to the roman lawyers, signifies a decree or resolution of a solemn assembly met together

together for the purpose of making laws. It is also used to denote the edicts and rescripts of the magistrate. And, in after-times, when the opinions of eminent lawyers had themselves been hardened into law, they also were complimented with the venerable appellation of “authorities.” From hence it may be collected, that, when we hear that the church hath authority in controversies of faith, we are to understand that the church hath a lawful power of hearing, judging upon, and deciding concerning controversies of faith.

Proceed we next to inquire, in what hands must the power of exercising this authority be lodged. For if by “the church” is meant the whole congregation of faithful men, no more is asserted, than if we were told that the power of making laws for the direction of our civil conduct, and of deciding controversies about property, is lodged in the people of Great Britain: and it may be lodged there till dooms-day, without a single exercise of such power, unless something further be added to the description. Let us subjoin the words “representatively assembled,” which may be plainly implied, and the matter of jurisdiction will be clear. The proposition
will

will stand thus : as all authority in temporal concerns is ultimately vested in the king, lords, and commons in parliament assembled ; so all authority in controversies relating to faith is ultimately vested in a national synod. The authority of such a synod is thus guarded by the 139th canon of the church. “ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the most holy synod of this nation, assembled in Christ’s name, and by the king’s writ, is not representatively the true church of England, let him be excommunicated, and by no means absolved, till he publicly repent of this wicked error.” That is to say, as we are informed by one of her own canonists, “ let him be accursed, devoted to the devil, and separated from Christ and his church’s communion.*

This point then being established, we may further collect, that as the regulations and decisions of the british parliament are binding upon the rest of the community, so the decisions of a national synod are binding upon the rest of the church, that is, upon all the remaining members of the congregation
of

* See Godolphin’s Repert : canon : p. 625. 626.

of faithful men who were not actually present at the national synod. If therefore the church of England, representatively assembled, should decree, that salvation cannot be obtained without its pale, you are bound to assent to the proposition, and to subscribe it, if required. If the church of England, representatively assembled, should decree, that the body and blood of Christ are materially present in the eucharist, you are bound to assent to the proposition, and subscribe it, if required. If the church of England, representatively assembled, should decree that Athanasius had not settled the trinitarian controversy with sufficient precision, you are bound to assent to the proposition, and to subscribe it, if required. But perhaps, you may demur : you have certainly the liberty of doing so. You have also the liberty of rebelling against your king, or rather you have the power of doing either ; but then you must patiently and contentedly abide the consequences, viz. drawing, hanging, and quartering, in the latter case ; and excommunication, as before described, in the former.

It is our happiness, however, that the church

church of England has, in exercising her authority with respect to the foregoing controversies, and indeed in all others whatsoever, always decided on the right side. And, in this rectitude of her decisions, at present, consists, and will consist, as long as subscription to the twentieth article shall be established by law, the only essential difference between the church of England and of Rome.

This article further asserts, that “the church ought not to decree any thing against holy writ, or to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation besides the same.” To the sufficiency of the holy scriptures you will readily subscribe; but the point before you, in the case of the bachelor’s degree, is not a question “*de jure*” but “*de facto*.” The robber on the highway certainly ought not to take your purse; whether he means to do so or not, when he holds a pistol to your breast, is a different question; and he may demand your money, and own he is wrong in doing so, in the same breath. The church, as is clear from the articles before us, has actually decided upon many points. She has exercised her authority, pretty freely, in controversies of faith; if against scripture, a better testi-

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mony

mony than her own confession that she hath no right to do so, is to be found in every protestant breast. She holds forth these decisions, these interpretations of scripture to your consideration; and the university, or rather king James's letter to the heads of houses, requires you to subscribe them as consonant to holy writ, previously to your admission to a bachelor's degree. As englishmen and as protestants you may exercise, and ought to exercise, the right of private judgment in searching the scriptures; and like the Beræans should inquire whether these matters be so. You may, if you please, enjoy the honourable appellation of Beræans, without declaring your testimony in favour of the church; but if you mean to be bachelors of arts, you must "bona fide" acknowledge that all and every of her articles are agreeable to the word of God, and as such subscribe them.*

I have

[* The subscription required of candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts in the university of Cambridge, has been altered in its form, but not relaxed in its spirit or import. By a grace which passed the senate the 23d of June 1772, the following subscription is required; "I do declare that I am, "bona fide," a member of the church of England, as by law established."]

I have employed so much attention upon the twentieth article. that I have not left myself room to say any more at present, than that you may soon expect to hear from me again.

L E T T E R I I I.

G E N T L E M E N,

THE twenty-first article will require more consideration than I am afraid many of you can give to it. It asserts, that “forasmuch as general councils are assemblies of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining unto God.” In order that you may form some idea of the course of study requisite to a conscientious subscription of this article, I shall give you the following hints. The eastern general councils were six in number. The western clergy, though the infallible father was at their head, were obliged to meet twelve times, before they could settle a system of faith intirely to their minds; and even at last to little pur-

pose; as appears from the history of the council of Trent, and the article now before us. The history of these councils is abridged in about as many folio volumes, which it will be necessary for you to read over, together with the fathers they refer to, before next January, if you have not already perused them.

As to the affair of purgatory decided against in the twenty-second article, there is certainly some flaw, not in the superstructure of the building, but, as I vehemently suspect, in the foundation. Persons, when they depart out of this life, are certainly of very different characters: and as the doctrine of an intermediate state must, in any wise, be retained in the church, in order that the philosophers may not be affronted who maintain the natural immortality of the human soul, it must be held, that such persons immediately enter upon those different states to which the judgment of God, founded on the prevailing character of their lives, shall think proper to consign them. You have the fate of the righteous thus determined with tolerable precision in the burial service,

wherein

wherein it is asserted, that “ the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity ;” an assertion which has been thought, by many learned persons, to militate against some plain and positive assertions in the scriptures. But after you have made some progress in the very delectable theory and practice of subscription, you will be able to comprehend, that instances like the foregoing, which in common life are distinguished by the title of contradictory assertions, may wear a very different aspect when they are ecclesiastically considered. All the writers upon articles are wont to refer them to a chapter which treats upon the latitude of interpretation ; but I would wish you to suspend your judgment till you have perused a treatise shortly intended to be published, intitled, “ The harmony between the articles, homilies, and liturgy of the church of England ; and the intire consonancy of them all with common-sense and scripture, considered, vindicated, and maintained.”

Take heed, that, by the words “ congregation,” and “ the Lord’s vineyard,” in the

twenty-third article, you understand the church of England; otherwise you will render the article replete with folly, intolerance, and falshood.

The twenty fourth article declares it “ to be repugnant to the word of God, to have public prayer in a tongue not understood by the people ;” but, as clear and intelligible ideas are necessary, in order to form intelligible words, do you, I mean as many of you as are intended for holy orders, study well the athanasian parts of the liturgy, otherwise we may have public prayer in a tongue not understood either by the people or the parson.

I am very sorry that your business in the schools must be so long interrupted by the consideration of the subject treated upon in the six next articles. Whole libraries, large as the Alexandrian, must be absolutely read through, before you can fairly set your hands to articles which abound with such an infinitude of matter. With respect to one of them, I shall only observe, that you solemnly deny the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; but then, in your catechism, you assert “ that the body

dy and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper." According to the twenty-ninth article, the wicked, "although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth, as Augustin saith, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no ways are they partakers of Christ." O ye righteous, to your experience we must appeal! Explain this matter of the real, heavenly, spiritual, consubstantial presence of Christ in the eucharist, in intelligible language, to the candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts.

In the thirty-first article, "the offering of Christ once made" is said to be "a perfect satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world." As the necessity of repentance, on the part of the sinner, is not mentioned, it is not to be supposed, unless you mean to fly in the face of the eleventh article, and would chuse to be reputed unorthodox. The best commentators upon this article are to be found among the methodistical tribe. I refer you therefore to the works of Whitefield, Wesley, and Hervey, upon this subject; a careful perusal of which, united with a few years attendance upon the tabernacle, will render

each of you as able a combatant in support of the church, as Augustus Toplady himself.

Upon the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons, I have little to say. The doctrine of the thirty-second article is most righteous and true; and it is really amazing that there ever should have been a doubt about the matter. We will therefore dismiss the subject, with heartily wishing their reverences good wives.

The religion of the gospel may, at first sight, seem to inculcate an universal benevolence; and to recommend every human creature whatsoever as the proper object of your tenderest affections; the evil, of your pity; the virtuous, of your love. The thirty-third article is imposed in order to guard against such delusion. Inquire into the manner in which heathens and publicans were formerly treated by the jews, and you will learn how to regulate your deportment to those persons who are solemnly excommunicated by your church. With respect to “*ipso facto*” excommunicated persons, see the 2d, 3d, and 4th canons of the church. If you are in any doubt, bishop Warburton will instruct you, in the proper method of behaving to them.

I have

I have several things to say ; I trust some of them worthy your consideration, upon the remaining articles, as also upon the homilies, the first and second books of which you doubtless propose to digest into propositions, before you set your hand to the doctrines they contain. You may therefore expect to hear from me once more.

L E T T E R IV.

GENTLEMEN,

I SINCERELY wish that the humane and generous attempt of the worthy Mr. Tyrwhitt* to relieve you, had been attended with the success which it so well deserved ;
but

* With respect to the character of this gentleman, it may justly be said to be above all praise. His strong abilities, extensive learning, strict integrity, and most amiable manners, united with cool judgment and determined resolution, would reflect a lustre on the most distinguished station. And it is one of the strongest reasons for the removal of subscriptions, that the imposition of human formularies of faith and doctrine, and the acknowledged imperfections in the forms of public worship

but as the measure has been defeated by the arbitrary and unstatutable interposition of the council of six, it is become more than
 ever

worship, deprive the church of England of the honour any longer of numbering among her worthies so truly honest and venerable a man. I should hurt his delicacy, were I to mention the sacrifices he has made at the shrine of integrity and honour; sacrifices only to be equalled by those of the rev. Dr. Robertson, author of a tract entitled, "An attempt to explain the words reason, substance," &c. first published 1768, and well worthy of the perusal of every friend to religious liberty and virtue.

In order to place the transaction alluded to in the true point of light, it will be expedient to refer to the following paper, which was inserted in the Gentleman's magazine, for June 1771. [See vol. xli. p. 263.]

"If the publication of the enclosed paper be not inconsistent with your general plan, I am well convinced, that the favouring the public with it, in your next month's magazine, will be very agreeable to many of your readers. It contains all the authority on which subscriptions are required of such as take any degree in the university of Cambridge.

"At the end is a grace, which was offered June the 11th, 1771, for the removal of such subscription, but, without any reason being assigned, was prevented by the caput, from coming before the body of the university.

I am, &c.

X. Y.

The

ever necessary, that you should be informed of the true nature of those celebrated bonds of subscription which unite you to the church.

But

The articles to be subscribed unto by all persons before they are admitted to any degree; with the grace passed in the year 1613, and king James's direction to the v. chancellor and heads of houses, injoining subscription to those articles: to which is added, the resolution of the house of commons concerning the said grace.

I. Articles to be subscribed unto, &c.

1. " That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions and countries.

2. " That the book of common-prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, contained in it nothing contrary to the word of God; and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and no other.

3. " That he alloweth the book of articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562; and that he acknowledgeth all and
every

But before I enter upon this part of my task, I must fulfil the promise I made you with respect to those articles not considered in my former letter.

The

every the articles therein contained (being in number 39, besides the ratification) to be agreeable to the word of God.

“ We whose names are underwritten, do *willingly* and *ex animo* subscribe to the three articles, before-mentioned, and to all things in them contained.”

Excerpta e Stat. Acad. Cantab. p. 25.

II. The grace by which subscription to these articles is required of candidates for the degree of bachelor in divinity, and of doctor in each faculty.

“ Jun. 2do, 1613. Placeat vobis, ut juxta tenorem literarum a serenissimo rege Jacobo missarum, hoc in senatu decernatur; ut nullus in posterum sibi concessam habeat gratiam pro gradu baccalaureatus in theologia, vel doctoratus in aliquâ facultate adipiscendo, qui non prius coram domino procancellario, aut ejus deputato, tribus articulis sc. regii primatus, liturgiæ anglicanæ, et articulorum religionis de quibus convenerunt archiepiscopi, et episcopi A. D. 1562, propria manu sua subscripserit. Et ut hæc concessio vestra loco statuti habeatur, et in libris procuratorum infra decem dies inscribatur.

III. King

The thirty-fourth article treats “ of the traditions of the church ” You will find some little obscurity in the wording of this article

III. King James’s direction to the v. chancellor and heads of houses in the university of Cambridge, given by himself to Dr. Hills, v. chancellor, &c. on December 3, 1616, at Newmarket.

“ His majesty signified his pleasure, that he would have all that take any degree in schools to subscribe to the three articles..”

“ After some other directions the king ordered, that Mr. v. chancellor and the two professors of divinity, or two of the heads of houses, do every Michaelmas, when his majesty resorts into these parts, wait upon his majesty, and give his majesty a just account how these his majesty’s instructions are observed.”

“ A copy of these directions written, or at least signed, by the king himself, was soon afterwards sent by the bishop of Winchester to the v. chancellor with the following letter.

To the right worshipful Dr. Hill, master of Catherine-hall, and v. chancellor of Cambridge.

“ Good Mr. v. chancellor,

“ I have sent you his majesty’s hand to his own directions. I think you have no precedent, that ever a king, first with his own mouth, then with his own hand, gave such directions; and therefore you shall do very well to keep that writing curiously, and the directions religiously, and to give his majesty a good account
of

article, which, upon your application, it will become the duty of your superiors to remove intirely to your satisfaction, before they

of them carefully; which I pray God you may; and so with my love to yourself, and the rest of the heads, I commit you to God. From court this 12th day of December, 1616.

Your very loving friend,

JAMES WINTON.

IV. The resolution of the house of commons concerning the grace passed by the university of Cambridge in the year 1613.

“ In the year 1640, upon the report from the grand committee of religion, it was resolved by the house of commons, “ that the statute made about twenty-seven years since, in the university of Cambridge, imposing upon young scholars a subscription according to the 36th article of the canons made in the year 1603, is against the law and liberty of the subject, and ought not to be pressed upon any student or graduates whatsoever.”

Rushworth's Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 149.

“ The author of the History of the puritans, after citing this resolution of the house of commons, takes notice, “ that about five months forwards they passed the same resolution for Oxford; which was not unreasonable, because the universities had not an unlimited power by the 36th canon to call upon all their students to subscribe, but only upon such lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a privilege of licensing; and to
this

they call upon you to give your unreserved assent to it.

All pleasantries apart, I do not see how it is possible that you can “ bona fide ” declare, by
the

this I conceive, the last words of the canon refer ; “ if either of the universities offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law, and his majesty’s censure.”

“ And it ought to be remembered, that all the proceedings of the house of commons this year in punishing delinquents, and all their votes and resolutions about the circumstances of public worship, had no other view than the cutting off those illegal additions and innovations which the superstition of the late times had introduced, and reducing the discipline of the church, to the standard of statute law. No man was punished for acting according to law ; but the displeasure of the house ran high against those who, in their public ministrations or in their ecclesiastical courts, had bound those things upon the subject, which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or about which the laws were altogether silent.”

Neal’s Hist. vol. i. p. 665.

The form of a grace for the removal of subscription to the three articles contained in the 36th canon.

“ Placeat vobis, ut illi, qui munia scholastica in regijs statutis contenta expleverint, in posterum sibi concessam habeant gratiam pro gradu in aliqua facultate suscipiendo, etsi tribus articulis in canone tricesimo sexto comprehensis non subscripserint.”

the subscription of your names, that the first and second books of homilies “contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these

Copy of a petition, signed by a numerous body of under-graduates, and presented by Mr. Crawford, fellow-commoner of Queen’s college, to the rev. Dr. Browne, master of Pembroke hall, and vice chancellor of the university of Cambridge, on Tuesday the 31st of December, 1771.

To the vice chancellor and senate of the university of Cambridge ; the humble petition of certain under-graduates in the said university,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners apprehend themselves, in consequence of engagements entered into with the university at the time of their admission or matriculation, to be under an obligation of devoting their attention to that course of studies, which is recommended to them by their superiors : that they are expected to employ themselves in the pursuit of natural and metaphysical knowledge ; to improve themselves in moral philosophy, and to acquaint themselves with the sentiments and language of those authors, who, in their time, were esteemed the greatest ornaments of Greece and Rome : that, in consequence of this multiplicity of academical engagements, they have neither the leisure nor the opportunity of inquiring into the abstruse points of theology ; that they nevertheless find themselves under a necessity of declaring their unfeigned assent to a
set

these times," unless you previously read them. Perhaps there may be some difficulty in getting yourselves supplied with copies of these

set of theological propositions, usually called "the thirty-nine articles of religion," apparently of high argument and great importance; or of subjecting themselves to a repulse in their petition for a degree, which they have endeavoured to qualify themselves for, with much trouble, and at no little expence. Your petitioners, therefore, intreat, if such indulgence can be granted to them without infringement of the university statutes, that they may be released from the necessity of testifying their assent to the aforesaid propositions; or, that such timely assistance may be afforded in their respective colleges, as will enable your petitioners to satisfy their consciences in subscribing them.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Extract from the General Evening-post, of Saturday,
December 7, 1771.

Cambridge, December 6. A grace was this day offered by Mr. Tyrwhitt for excusing gentlemen who were candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts, from subscribing the thirty-nine articles. The grace was unanimously rejected by the caput, for the same reason as before, "that the university had no power of making so material a change; and that the times were not favourable to so great an undertaking, which required the slow and wise deliberations of the supreme legislature, not the partial determinations of a few academics."

these homilies. You have a right, however, to demand a perusal of them. And it is the duty of your superiors to give you what

Extract from the Whitehall Evening-post, of Thursday,
Jan. 16, 1772.

Cambridge, Jan. 13. Mr. Crawford went to the vice-chancellor to-day, to request an answer to the petition of the undergraduates, and addressed him in this manner :

“ Mr. vice-chancellor,

“ I wait upon you again concerning the petition of
“ the undergraduates, and would beg to be indulged
“ with a few moments hearing. We have received as
“ yet no direct answer to our petition, which, with
“ great submission, we think deserves one. It has been
“ intimated to us, however, that it is thought improper to
“ grant us our request at this time, lest those in autho-
“ rity in the university should be said to favour the
“ petition of the clergy. We have been told, that
“ after that is presented to parliament, we may expect
“ relief. Our petition we think to be quite indepen-
“ dent of the petition of the clergy. We beg that our
“ subscription to the articles may be dispensed with,
“ not because we object to any of them, but because we
“ have not had an opportunity to study them. You
“ must consider, Sir, that there are some who have sub-
“ scribed their names, who are to take their degrees in
“ a few days; they therefore claim an immediate re-
“ lief. The most zealous advocates for the church will
“ not impute to you a desertion of its cause, by granting
“ our request; for all mankind, with one voice, cry out
“ against the imposition we speak of as absurd and ille-
“ gal,

what assistance they are able, with respect to the proofs of those doctrines which they contain.

I have often lamented, that the forms of consecrating bishops and ministers are not printed in every edition of the book of common-prayer. In the thirty-sixth article it is asserted, that there is nothing either “superstitious or ungodly” in those forms. But, with what confidence can you presume to assert this, by a solemn subscription, when the chances are ten millions to one against your having seen them? Read them by all means, I beseech you. What opinion would you form of a man, who, in the common transactions of life, would venture to set his hand to a declaration of the truth of a fact, which, for any thing he knew of the matter, may be intirely and absolutely false?

The authority of the civil magistrate in

P 2

spiritual

“gal, which an arbitrary Stuart, in the wantonness of
 “his power, had pleased to establish in the university.
 “What answer, Sir, shall I carry back to the rest of
 “the subscribers?” The vice-chancellor then said, that
 “there were many names erased in the petition,
 “that some others were also willing to erase theirs, and
 “that he had not power to grant the petition.”

Spiritual as well as civil matters, is, within certain limits, unquestionable. Yet the subject deserves your attentive consideration, as the point principally asserted is the negative of papal jurisdiction, an evil once of portentous magnitude to every state in christendom, the very mention of which, it is to be hoped, will be always horrible to an english ear.

The thirty-eighth article will not give you much trouble. You may however read what Rogers, Welchman, and Burnet, say upon the occasion.

The thirty-ninth article certainly requires some consideration. You have heard of the principles of the people called “ quakers ” relating to oaths. Study your Bibles a little, and the fathers of the primitive church, before you determine that their conduct, in this instance, is altogether indefensible.

The ratification is not properly your concern : yet it may, perhaps, puzzle heads more learned in church matters than at present you can boast, to assign the reasons why it was judged necessary that these thirty-nine articles should be confirmed by the subscription of the archbishops and bishops, in the
year

year 1571; and why it is not judged necessary that the same security should be given by their graces and their lordships at this day. I wish the inferior clergy of 1571, had also subscribed for their successors and descendants; though perhaps even then some orthodox divines might have concluded you within the obligation; Adam, you know, having sinned both for himself and his posterity.

I am under some apprehensions that you may be unwilling to enter upon the course of study which I have recommended in these letters; and you may plead, that there will be time enough, hereafter, to read and to reflect upon the articles which you have subscribed; but, what opinion would you entertain of the discretion of a person who deferred the reading of a bond, till after its execution? You would have as mean an opinion of the prudence of the signer, as of the honesty of the proposer. Consult your own understandings, you will see that your attesting the consonancy of the articles, liturgy, and homilies, with holy scripture, at your time of life, will amount to a surrender of a very valuable right, viz. the right of thinking for yourselves with re-

spect to points of highest consequence to your well being, into the hands of men, who will take all proper opportunities of reminding you of the nature and extent of the obligations you have entered into with the church.

Some of you, perhaps, may hereafter enter into orders, and may, with the best dispositions, betake yourselves to the study of the scriptures. You may find the genuine doctrines of these scriptures to be in direct opposition to the doctrines you have subscribed. You may imagine that the sixth, or the twentieth article of the church will allow you some liberty of interpreting scripture for yourselves; but, upon experience, you will find your hopes are vainly founded. Your brethren, upon the least appearance of your deserting from the established doctrines, will raise a clamour against you. A more importunate clamour will be raised in your own breasts; and, if you wish to retain your integrity, you will, perhaps, be induced to resign your preferment at an age, and in circumstances, when such sacrifices cannot be made without some anxiety to others, as well as to yourselves.

Some

Some of you may, perhaps, hereafter devote yourselves to the profession of physic, or of law. In your declining years you may begin to think a little of that awful hour, to which we are every day approaching. You will unquestionably recur to those interpretations of scripture which you, in early life, subscribed. You will place your confidence in what you have been taught to consider, as the religion of your country. You will, perhaps, find these articles opposed by the common-sense and reason of mankind : no other hope remains ; each of you will have lived a stranger to the gospel doctrines ; you will each of you die a stranger to its consolations.

Perhaps some of you may be called upon hereafter, to serve your country in parliament. Advancing years may convince you of the absurdity of the doctrines you have subscribed, as the religion of the land. You will then be tempted to look upon all religions, as alike the creatures of the state ; and will therefore be devoid of that steady, persevering, manly fortitude in your country's cause, which is one of the noblest virtues

to which a british senator can possibly aspire.

But if, with minds informed by a careful education, you have acquired a veneration for that sacred book, which holds forth a religion, reasonable, important and true; be not hasty in the performance of an act, which, for any thing you know, may amount to a renunciation of the whole. Study diligently your Bibles; study diligently the thirty-nine articles of the church. Seek instruction from your tutors, when any doubts arise; and if, upon a careful inquiry, you shall, in your consciences, be persuaded, that the articles and homilies of the church of England are, all and every of them, agreeable to the word of God, why then, in the name of God, subscribe them.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I CANNOT dismiss these interesting subjects, without offering some further considerations relating to the association at “ the Feathers,” and the petition formed in consequence of its meetings.

A publication intituled the “ Christian Whig,” has lately appeared, and has been sent, without the concurrence, or even knowledge, of a single person of the association, to every member of the house of commons.

It is written with good sense, decency, and candour. The writer declares, that he has no connection with the petitioning clergy, and he declares the truth. When he speaks of the removal of all subscription to human formularies of faith and doctrine, he speaks the sentiments of the petitioners ; but, when he pleads for the propriety of an application

* [See “ A Letter to the members of the honourable house of commons, respecting the petition for relief in the matter of subscription. By a christian Whig. The second edition. To which is added, a second letter relative to the subscription of graduates in the universities.” 1772.]

plication to the bishops, he judges contrary to the opinion of every person concerned in the present appeal. The gentlemen, who think themselves aggrieved by the imposition of subscriptions, affect not the character of reformers of the church. They will appear in the humbler guise of petitioners for the removal of a grievance severely felt by individuals; which, though it was first laid upon their ancestors, through the intrigues and intolerance of churchmen, is unhappily confirmed, at present, by the law of the land. Many of the associated members have reasons for believing that, with respect to their brethren on the bench, the WILL, as well as the POWER, is wanting to afford them the requested redress; and they will certainly esteem a reference of their case to their lordships, as a polite, though decisive, method of refusing their suit.

The injudicious friends of the petition frequently express themselves as if the request contained in the petition would be granted, by a revival of the articles, or a diminution of their number. But no revival is sought for in the petition; the favour solicited is the disannulling the necessity of subscrip-

subscription to any one ; and whether such indulgence can be granted, without danger to the state, is a question which the members of the honourable house are very able to decide. Whatever be the event, the petitioners will never quit their protestant ground.

The association mean, by every legal and just method, to attempt the gaining of redress in the matter of subscription to human formularies of faith and doctrine. They have judged, upon maturest deliberations, a petition to parliament, and not a petition either to the bishops or his majesty, a proper method of obtaining redress ; and with anxiety they wait for the decision. Whatever steps they may take upon a refusal, I believe they will never be brought to consent to an application to the bench.

It is true, a new translation of the Bible, and a revival of the liturgy are much wanted ; but amendments, in either, fall not within the plan of the present petitioners. All mention of reformation in these points is untouched in the petition. If the bishops, therefore, moved by the importance and propriety of the measure, should hereafter do any thing in either way, the members of the
association,

association, though they would highly approve their conduct, will by no means interfere with them ; the glory will be all their own. We have only, at present, to desire of their lordships, that as they have often declared they are not able to help us in the affair of subscriptions, they will not obstruct our righteous endeavours to help ourselves.

The sole request of the petitioners is very plain and simple. I will mention it once more : they beg to be relieved from the necessity of acknowledging by subscription, or declaration, the conformity of any humanly devised formularies of faith and doctrine to the word of God. A proper substitute, if any substitute be necessary, must be left to a wisdom superior to their own. Their meaning could not be mistaken, were the worthy members of the house of commons to deliberate among themselves a single moment, upon the subject. A revival of the articles, amendments in the liturgy, a new translation of the Bible, are, though the laity are also interested, certainly clerical concerns. But the terms upon which, in a protestant country, the clergy should hold their preferments, the
; physicians

physician and civilian be allowed to practise, are surely to be regulated at the sole discretion of the state.

Yet, after all that has been said, the following question may be asked, and indeed it often has been asked with triumph, by the adversaries of the present attempt.

Would you have the church to authorise and send forth ministers and pastors among the people, without taking any security of them for the faithful discharge of their office; and, particularly, without guarding against their preaching false and erroneous doctrines? Already it has been replied, and the reply expresses the sentiments of the learned and judicious Dr. Clarke, that in the office of ordination there are several questions put to every priest, the answers to which, seem to contain as ample security as any christian church can desire, or can be authorized to demand.

At the time of ordination, the priest declares in the most solemn manner,

1. That he is persuaded that the holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ.

2. That

2. That he has determined, by God's grace, out of the said scriptures to instruct the people committed to his charge; and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which he shall be persuaded, may be concluded and proved by the scripture.

3. That he will use both public and private monitions, as well to the sick as to the whole, within his cure, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given.

4. That he will be diligent in prayers, and in reading, of the holy scriptures, and in such studies as help the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and of the flesh.

5. That he will be diligent to frame and fashion his own self and his family according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both himself and them as much as in him lieth, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ.

6. That he will maintain and set forwards, as much as in him lieth, quietness, peace, and love, among all christian people, and, especially, among those that are, or shall be, committed to his charge.

A
L E T T E R
T O
SIR WILLIAM MEREDITH, BART.
UPON THE SUBJECT OF
S U B S C R I P T I O N
T O T H E
LITURGY AND THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES
O F T H E
C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D :
B Y A N E N G L I S H M A N .

NON PARTIS STUDIIS AGIMUR, SED SUMSIMUS ARMA
CONSILIIS INIMICA TUIS, IGNAVIA FALLAX.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXII,
NOW REPRINTED FROM A COPY
CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

T O

SIR WILLIAM MEREDITH, BART.

SIR,

THE writer of this letter is one of the petitioning clergy, whose cause you lately patronized in the house of commons. He acknowledges, with heart-felt gratitude, his obligations as an individual, for the zeal you shewed in its support: and is sensible how much the whole association is indebted to you, for your conduct on that memorable night, when, with invincible strength of argument, and most persuasive eloquence, you maintained the unalienable right of your fellow-citizens to an unlimited exercise of private judgment in matters of a religious nature; and evinced the absurdity, as well as impiety, of requiring from the public teachers of the gospel, a subscribed declaration, expressive of the

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agree-

agreement of certain human formularies of faith and morals with the truths contained in holy writ.

The question was agitated for near nine hours, with a degree of seriousness and attention which suggested many pleasing reflections to the minds of religion and their country. And although the controversy was not decided in our favour, yet, satisfied with respect to the justice of our cause, and determined to persevere in it, with that decent firmness which accompanies such conviction, we retired with the pleasing expectation, that your house might, upon a reconsideration of the subject, grant us that redress, which will not be more acceptable to us as aggrieved individuals, than grateful on account of the connection which we trust will be found between our success and the progress of that gospel, which, receiving with willing hearts as the last, best gift of heaven, we are ever ready to acknowledge, according to the scripture-representation of it, as the only rule of faith and practice.

I have no occasion to inform you, that an
opinion

opinion at one time prevailed, that our petition was inadmissible, inasmuch as it appeared to strike at a fundamental article of the union between the english and scottish kingdoms. A position, which, when politically considered, soon fell before the weight of argument adduced against it in the house of commons; and is liable to still stronger objections, in a moral view; as, if acted under, it must for ever preclude the minutest reformation, although the legislature were convinced of its necessity; and might, eventually, involve the whole collected body of the people, in the guilt of impious and avowed rebellion against the majesty of heaven, should it ever become a general persuasion, that the articles in question are essentially at variance with the acknowledged word of God.

The ground, on which our adversaries at first opposed us, being now esteemed no longer tenable, we are informed, that we have most to fear, from the prevalence of a persuasion, that some test, expressive of the sense in which we understand the scriptures, ought to be required from the clerical part

of the establishment ; that some bond or center of union, essentially requisite in the constitution of every society whatsoever, is therefore necessary to the very existence of a national church.

With the utmost deference and respect to your superior judgment, I beg leave to suggest some hints to your consideration, which, if pursued through all their consequences, tend obviously to invalidate this darling argument of the adversaries of our cause.

I request, however, that the sentiments offered upon this interesting subject may be esteemed as the sentiments of a single person, and not of the association to which I have the honour to belong. If the argument shall appear inconclusive, the disgrace will be, as indeed it ought to be, intirely my own; but if my reflections shall prove of any real service to the cause of protestantism, I shall rejoice in having, in the remotest manner, contributed to the success of a design, in which I am with heart and hand engaged.

In the discussion of our question, I will
not

not consider the clergy as forming a corporation constituted for a merely civil purpose, the creature and the servant of the state; because I find that such an idea has been judged offensive: I will adopt the opinion of the adversary; but will endeavour to use more precision in my terms.

These words, “the church of England,” properly signify the collective body of that part of the people of these kingdoms, who, being baptized into its communion, outwardly conform to, or, at least, do not formally dissent from its established discipline and worship.

Under this idea, it might easily be proved, that the thirty-nine articles of the church of England cannot form the bond or center of union to its members; as but an inconsiderable portion of the english people have ever subscribed, or in any way assented to these articles, and a still smaller portion can be said to understand them.

The aforesaid words have been also used to denote the established clergy of these kingdoms. But, in strict propriety of speech, the established clergy, either collectively or

representatively taken, do not constitute the church of England; but, separately considered, they are either rulers, ministers, or teachers in that church.

However, as our adversaries are frequently inclined to consider the church as a set of christian ministers, associated for the purpose of diffusing the pure religion of the gospel, voluntary in its first formation, but, at length, on account of public utility, allied to and supported by the state, we will meet them on the ground, which themselves have occupied, and accede to the definition, by which they seem determined to abide.

To the existence and continuance of such a society some bond, or center of union is required. This position will be allowed in its unlimited extent.

But a question arises concerning the nature of this bond of union. In this point indeed we shall differ very widely.

In order that our mental sight may be preserved as clear as possible from the suffusions of prejudice, let us turn a moment from the church, in which the question of the right and expediency of subscriptions

is to be tried, and examine into those prudential maxims, adopted in all societies whatever; those maxims I mean, which, being the result of human wisdom, furnish the members of each incorporation with the means of effecting the purpose of its institution.

A number of men, desirous of accomplishing some purpose of acknowledged importance, combine themselves into a society, in order that united wisdom and strength may produce, what the skill and power of them singly, would not be able to effect.

In such a case, the end and design of the association should be expressed in terms the most perspicuous and precise, which human language can afford; as every person of a society merely voluntary, who forms not a just and accurate conception of its design, is only nominally a member, or, in other words, no member at all.

Let us, for instance, suppose that a set of gentlemen associate for the purpose of promoting philosophical inquiry. To inform the minds of men in every well-

authenticated philosophic fact; to enlarge the sphere of human comprehension, with respect to the knowledge of nature and her operations, would be the end or design of such society.

This design should be expressed in terms so clear, that each person might perceive, that, upon admission, he laid himself under an obligation to join with his associates in promoting, to the utmost of his ability, the study of philosophy, and in diffusing the light of science thence resulting, among the various ranks and orders of the state.

But further precision is necessary in our inquiry. Though a perfect comprehension be acquired of the design of the society, yet, it is to be considered, that its design is not the same, and therefore by no means to be confounded with its bond of union, or with those rules of conduct, by which it hopes to accomplish its design.

A bond of union, when taken from its primary signification of a bond uniting things material, and applied to rational beings, is used to denote that principle, which connects them closely with each
other,

other, and obliges them to concur in endeavouring the accomplishment of their purpose.

In the present instance, it must signify a solemn obligation or engagement, entered into by the contracting parties, under the forfeiture of honour or of substance, honestly and faithfully to discharge the various trusts which may be reposed in them; and to promote, by all just and legal methods, the laudable end of their association.

The measures, whereby the members may best promote this end, must be left to be suggested by individuals, and decided upon by the society, as exigencies demand. As in the case before us, doubts may arise whether philosophic knowledge may be best promoted by the use of the synthetic or analytic method of instruction. Or, a question may be moved, whether there is not a probability that its bounds will be more enlarged by proposing premiums, without any limitation whatsoever, as incentives to industry and invention, in every branch of useful science, than by expending an equal sum in inculcating what is already supposed

to be discovered, under the immediate view of persons appointed by the society itself.

The modes of procedure embraced by the society, in consequence of the discussion of such questions, form its resolutions; which are carefully to be distinguished from its main design and bond of union. Its resolutions may be changed at pleasure. But while its design remains the same, and its bond of union firm and unshaken, on account of the untainted honour of its members, the society will still subsist, and, from such changes, frequently, derive an increase of authority, influence, and strength.

Let us now suppose that this society, at a certain period, either apprehensive of the power of enemies, interested in its destruction, or desirous of extending its influence, should apply to parliament for assistance and support; or, that the king, of his own mere motion, should grant a charter, with such privileges and immunities, as may enable the associated members with greater ease to accomplish their design.

As the parties concerned in the donation of authority, or substance, have a right of defining

defining the conditions, on which they grant their favours, it is probable, that, upon the grant of such patronage, the king or parliament would found a claim of advising, and, in some instances, of directing, the measures proper to be pursued. But this interference could work no alteration, either in the design of the society, or the nature of its bond. Nay, should any case arise wherein such interference appeared to the members subversive of the society's design, they would be guilty of a breach of their bond of union, if they did not humbly remonstrate against the imposition: but, in every instance, where the measure advised does not run counter to the grand purpose of the association, nor lays the members under a temptation to desert their charge, they are justified in submitting to any regulations, proposed by a power, from whence the society derives authority, dignity, and support.

The objections of prejudice will now begin to operate, as the inferences intended to be drawn from the preceding reflections can no longer be concealed. We will therefore change at once the object of our considerations,

derations, by the substitution of a single word; and, instead of representing the case of a society formed for the purpose of advancing philosophical knowledge, suppose it to be instituted with a design of promoting and spreading gospel truth.

Each individual, who is a believer, certainly has it in his power, by various ways, to promote either the knowledge, or the practice of the religion of Jesus. But it is very rationally concluded that he may do it with still greater efficacy, if he acts in concert with men, who are similarly inclined with himself.

An association is therefore formed, with a professed intention of promoting the knowledge and practice of christianity, by the personal labours of the individuals, who shall, from time to time, compose it.

The information and improvement of our species in the genuine principles of christian knowledge, and the advancement of the cause of piety and virtue, constitute the proper end and design of this society.

The members of this association moreover bind themselves, by a solemn engagement,

ment, never to falsify or to desert their trust; but, on the contrary, to promote the laudable purpose of their institution to the utmost extent of their abilities and power.

They engage, for instance, in the most solemn and public manner,* to be diligent in the study of all sacred learning, in order that they may be able rightly to divide the word of God, and, with the strongest powers of persuasion, to preach it to the people.

They profess that they will use both public and private monitions, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their care, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given.

They declare that they will be diligent to frame both themselves and families according to the doctrine of the gospel, and to make both themselves, and those with whom they shall be in any way connected, as much as in them lieth, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ.

This engagement, viz. an engagement to be honest and sincere, and zealous in the execution

* See the questions proposed to the candidates for the priesthood, in the office of ordination.

cution of their charge, may, with the utmost propriety, be said to constitute their “ sacramentum,” or their bond of union.

Our next inquiry must be concerning the measures, which such voluntary society embraces, in the various periods of its existence; concerning those maxims, and rules of conduct, by the help of which, it is enabled to effect its purpose.

These measures and maxims must be various, according to the various exigencies of the times.

It may possibly appear an adviseable measure in the society, to set apart a certain portion of their common stock, as a fund for the education of youth in such studies, as may best prepare them, for the due discharge of the ministerial functions.

The mode of this education, the nature of the qualifications for the ministry, and the manner of ascertaining the knowledge and moral character of the candidates, are considerations of the utmost consequence; and, therefore, should be submitted to the management of those members in the society, who are eminent for abilities, probity, and learning.

As I suppose that the presiding persons in this society are, in their own minds, persuaded, that the religion of the gospel came pure and perfect from the persons who were divinely commissioned to declare it to the world; it is to be imagined, that they will recommend the study of the scriptures, particularly those of the new Testament, as a proper course of study, and propose such regulations, as may tend to exhibit the revelation of heaven, pure and uncorrupted, to their fellow-creatures. They will be induced to adopt such a mode of conduct, not only upon an idea of the beneficial tendencies of truth, considered without relation to its author, but also upon the full conviction, that this religion contains promises, the accomplishment of which can only be expected upon the performance of those conditions, which God, and not man, hath proposed to our observance.

An hint is suggested by some individuals, that a subscription importing acquiescence in a set of doctrines, espoused by men of acknowledged probity and learning, and by them maintained to be scripture doctrines, may
greatly

greatly promote the end the society has in view, viz. the knowledge of the gospel in its primæval purity. And, in support of this opinion, it is urged, that, on account of the united wisdom of the society being employed in the fabrication of such articles, or formularies of faith and doctrine, the knowledge of the gospel might be more promoted, by the submission of the preacher to such a directory, than if he were indulged in the unlimited power of declaring to the people, whatever doctrines, himself shall be persuaded, are contained in the books of holy writ.

But the expediency of such a measure may be justly questioned. And indeed it has been frequently and ably shewn, that it directly tends to substitute, both in the mind of the preacher, and of those who hear him, the precarious doctrines and inventions of men, in the place of that word which God revealed; that if such subscription be absolute, it precludes the exercise of private judgment, and deprives us of those advantages which may be the result of more careful inquiry, or the produce of the labour of maturer

turer years ; that if the emoluments, which are allotted as stipendiary considerations for our ministerial services, cannot be enjoyed without such subscriptions, the prospect of the advantage will be a temptation to insincerity and prevarication to those persons, who, in honour, honesty, and every kind of virtue, should be ensamples of their flock ; that if the terms, in which the subscription be made, are ambiguous, or imply a certain limitation, such subscription will be either nugatory or ensnaring ; that a subscription to human articles, so far forth as they are agreeable to the word of God, is in fact no subscription at all ; and that every lawful end, proposed by such expedients, may be effected by a subscription to the scriptures ; the only measure, of this kind, worthy of being adopted in a society, which is distinguished from some others by an opinion, that the canonical books of the old and new Testament are a sufficient rule of christian faith and practice.

The danger therefore of prevarication in acceding to such subscription ; the limitation of the exercise of private judgment, from whence such beneficial consequences

have always flowed ; the too probable increase of that intolerant spirit, which prevails, more or less, in almost every society of a religious nature, and must be nourished by any extraordinary instance of respect which is paid to opinions merely human ; the difficulty of obtaining a review of doctrines, however palpable their absurdity, when they have once been received within the pale of an establishment ; should induce the society to reject a measure, which, were it to be supposed that the doctrines in question could accord with the general sentiments of its present members, might still distress succeeding generations ; may eventually defeat the very design of the society's institution ; or, even render worse than useless the labours of the persons who compose it.

But I must again assert, that neither a consent in opinion, with respect to articles of faith and doctrine, nor subscription to them, were it invariably insisted upon by the society on admission, and every other extraordinary occasion, can, with propriety, be said to constitute its bond of union. Such bond, like the “ sacramentum ” of the roman soldier, or of the early christians, according

cording to Pliny's delineation of their constitution, can only be interpreted, as a security for the constancy, fidelity, and other moral virtues, of the person who accedes to it, an assurance of his steadfast purpose to promote the christian cause; and, therefore, ought not to be confounded with any particular measure of advancing it.

Whatever therefore may be the conduct of the society: whether it advises or prescribes submission to the scripture only, a deference to tradition, or, a subscription to a set of articles explanatory of scripture: it is my firm persuasion, that such submission, such deference, or such subscription, however recommended or enforced, forms not, as our adversaries would insinuate, the bond or center of its union.

And, that subscription to the thirty-nine articles is not considered in this light, by the laws and canons of our church, is, I think, apparent from the following interesting fact.

The bishops, at their consecration, lay themselves under a solemn obligation, faithfully to discharge the functions of their office; but they do not again subscribe the

articles in question ; or, in other words, the rulers and governors of the society, who, in consequence of their extensive influence, are most able to defeat its design, and in consequence of their more frequent intercourse with the powers of this world, are under a stronger temptation than any of their brethren, to prostitute that influence to unworthy purposes, enter upon their important trust, without being called upon to declare their approbation, of what is termed its bond.

If it be pleaded, that they must frequently have subscribed these articles before their elevation ; it is answered, that if a single subscription be sufficient, it is absurd to require a reiteration of this security from every other clergyman upon appointment to a benefice, or elevation to a post of dignity and power. If, in defence of such requisition, it is urged, that upon entrance into office, the person, intrusted with a charge, should openly declare, that his sentiments, with respect to doctrine, are the same, as when he first subscribed, there is a greater propriety, surely, in his giving this security,

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when raised to the height of ecclesiastical authority. Upon entrance into a civil office, we are careful to remind each candidate for inferior honours and distinctions, of the nature of his trust. We neglect not also to exact still more express assurances of fidelity and attachment to the essentials of the constitution, from him, who, once a subject, is become a king. A conclusion follows of the most important kind. Either the articles of the church of England are not to be considered, as forming the essence of our ecclesiastical constitution, or, upon the idea, that a reiterated subscription to them, is with propriety required, the bishops should by no means be excused.

I shall now inquire what alterations would ensue, in case the king or parliament should be induced to lend their awful name and sanctions; and thus afford to the society the accession of an external strength.

In the first place, it is clear that the interference of parliament will not alter the nature of the society's design. The society was instituted with a view to promote the knowledge and the practice of the gospel.

Parliament, sensible of the great advantage which may be derived to the community from such knowledge, and such practice, arms its members with a power, and supplies them with an influence, superior to what they before enjoyed. But although, from the support communicated to the society, by a donation of temporal possessions, or the grant of exclusive privileges, a right be confessedly gained to parliament, of directing its measures, and recommending rules and orders to its observance; yet parliament cannot, without the greatest injustice and impiety, prescribe such rules of action, as obviously impede the progress of that knowledge, which the society was instituted to promote; and therefore, if, through the connivance or neglect of former guardians of the state, any deviation from the original intention of the society, should have received the temporary sanction of the legislature, a succeeding legislature should attend to every just remonstrance, which points out such deviation, and, by one decisive law, bring back the ecclesiastical constitution to its primitive simplicity of purpose.

And

And parliament will be induced to such a resolution, upon this further consideration; that, as the only reason to be assigned for its interference is a persuasion, that from the knowledge and the practice of the gospel, a blessing will be derived upon the people, this expectation will be surely frustrated, if the public treasure be expended in support of a religion merely human, in support of doctrines drawn up, perhaps, in diametric opposition to the word of God.

But, if the interference of parliament ought not to work an alteration on the society's design, not all the parliaments in Europe can effect an alteration in its bond: Laws may injoin the form of words, in which the obligation is expressed; may prescribe the ceremonies, with which it is declared; but its intrinsic nature is not altered by these contingent circumstances: Its essence must consist in an "ex animo" declaration, that the admitted member will labour to promote the grand design of the society, viz. the knowledge and the practice of the gospel, with fidelity, constancy, and zeal.

But, notwithstanding the interference which I have now supposed, it may be proper, that the society, with respect to many of its measures, should be left to be guided by its own discretion. And this upon the idea, that it is below the dignity of legislature to direct all the movements of each subordinate corporation. And therefore the society, or its rulers, as long as the civil rights of the subject are not invaded by their private resolutions, will probably be indulged in prescribing the means of ascertaining the quantity of knowledge, and moral qualifications, of aspirants to the ministry. But it should always be with this express limitation, that they presume not to prescribe any other qualifications as essential requisites for admission, except competency of learning, and proper testimonial of the morals of the candidate. His declaration of his intention to promote the design of the society, and expressed resolution of submitting to its just and legal discipline, is the only security he can give with honour, is the only security which the rulers of the church should be authorized to require.

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Yet, sad experience shews, that, in consequence of the universal appetite for dominion, so apparent in the human species, the governors in this clerical society will, from time to time, be induced to step beyond the line of lawful power: and will labour to impose their own interpretations and opinions upon succeeding members of the society, instead of simply injoining them to promote the nobler purpose of its institution. Such innovations, however, should be attended to, and opposed, in their earliest rise; and, whenever discovered, be corrected by the aid of parliamentary visitation. Otherwise they may gain such strength as to become incorporated with every act of the society, until, at length, such is the natural progress of religious despotism, they are established, as we this day deplore, by the force of laws. Nay, are even considered as fundamental principles, in treaties and conventions between states.

The foregoing reflections have a reference to the ministers of the church of England, so far as they are considered in the light of licensed preachers of the gospel. The conclusions

clusions which flow from them I will now comprize in a few words.

First. The advancement of those doctrines, which are contained in articles and confessions framed by man's device, cannot, with decency, be supposed to be the avowed design of any religious protestant society, further than such articles agree with the written word of God. And therefore, the promoting the knowledge and practice of that word, independent of its harmony with any system of opinions whatsoever, is, or ought to be, the great, and indeed the only, aim of the established clergy of this kingdom.

Secondly. No articles or confession of faith whatever, whether conceived in human or even scriptural terms, can be the bond or center of union to a society of christian ministers. Their only bond must be, an obligation, faithfully, resolutely, and zealously, to promote the knowledge of God's law to the best of their understanding and ability, to exert each faculty in the investigation of his will, and every power of persuasion in recommending the practice of it to their hearers.

And

And thirdly. Although it is allowed, that in every society, whether supported by private contributions or parliamentary patronage, there is vested somewhere a right of defining the conditions, upon the performance of which, its acting members shall become intitled to those emoluments, which are allowed as stipendiary considerations for their services; yet, it must be both absurd and iniquitous in this society, to prescribe such measures of conduct, as tend to defeat the very end of its institution: and if its avowed purpose be to promote christian knowledge and christian practice, that is to say, to promote the progress of a religion confessedly divine, nothing surely can be more immediately subversive of its design, than to require from each candidate for admission an “*ex animo*” assent to a set of articles, expressive of the sense of one particular sect or age: as such measure must unavoidably perpetuate those traditional errors, which the society was instituted to remove; and instead of diffusing gospel light, may spread one uniform gloom of intellectual and moral darkness, over every succeeding generation.

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In this inquiry into the right and expediency of requiring subscriptions from a national clergy, I have considered them as forming a distinct corporation from that general assembly, in which they are appointed to minister; and therefore by no means as possessed of an exclusive title to the name and privileges of the english church. The clergy indeed have frequently been considered as the church of England, but I think erroneously; clergymen, singly taken, are only licensed preachers, and persons who hold some post or sacerdotal office in the church; and, collectively considered, form nothing more than a particular corporation, endowed with such emoluments and privileges, as are most likely to render them of general use. A christian church, in scripture, and indeed in common acceptation, is an assembly of persons met together for the purpose of expressing the religious affections of their hearts to the almighty, and of improving in the knowledge of his will, as revealed by his son. Every society which consists of persons who believe in the divine mission of
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Jesus, and meet together for the aforesaid purposes, is a christian church. Under this idea, the pastor and the flock are absolutely upon a level, and jointly may decree those rites and ceremonies, which they, from time to time, shall judge will tend most to edification; they may enact whatever regulations they think proper, provided they do not trespass on the temporal property, or civil liberty of the subject, nor claim to themselves, or to their pastors, whether congregated by prelates, popes, or kings, the exercise of an "authority in controversies of faith." I will further observe, that whatever be the internal polity of a church, professing faith in Christ, its lay members are guilty of the greatest folly, provided they be really desirous of improvement in God's word, if, by the requisition of any explanatory articles whatever, they lay their lecturers under a temptation of declaring from the pulpit, other doctrines, than, what such lecturers shall themselves be persuaded, are strictly agreeable to the word of God. They should rather bind them, by the strongest obligations, to utter nothing except
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what they are convinced is conformable to eternal truth. The advantage of such conduct would soon disclose itself, in the improved understanding, and animated language of the preacher.

I might now therefore proceed to consider, first, the reasonable privileges of a single church, according to the just and usual acceptation of that term; and then ascend to the consideration of those connecting bonds, whereby a number of such churches may be formed into one collective whole.

But the consideration of this subject is not immediately connected with my present purpose; which is only to shew, that subscription to a systematical confession of faith and doctrine, expressive of the supposed sense of scripture, cannot, with propriety, be insisted upon from the members of a clerical establishment, provided the avowed purpose of their association be, the information and improvement of themselves and of their fellow creatures in christian knowledge, and in christian practice. And that it would be highly absurd to consider such articles, or such subscription, were the society to adopt
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the practice from a persuasion of its expediency, as the bond of union to its members.

I shall only beg leave to hint, that, if the thirty-nine articles of the church of England be said to form the bond and center of union to that mixed multitude, who, with the most discordant opinions that can possibly be conceived, are or have been denominated her sons, a controversialist on this subject may deny the fact*. For, in the first place, if every person who by baptism is admitted into her communion, is to be esteemed of that number, the apostle's creed is the present bond of union, as that is the real formulary into which we are all baptized.

In the next place, if no person is intitled to the appellation of a church-of-England-man, who has not given an unequivocal

* See an admirable letter, directed to the association at the Feathers, signed an "Old Man," in the London Chronicle of August 8, 1772, and in the London Evening-post of the 13th of the same month; also in the St. James's Chronicle of September 17, following; where this idea is insisted on, though in few words, yet in the most masterly and decisive manner.

vocal evidence of his assent to the doctrine which these articles contain, our church would be in a manner reduced to a wilderness, by the introduction of a bond of union, of a nature so complicated and mysterious, as must infallibly exclude an inconceivable majority from the rights of communion, who, in other respects, might approve themselves useful and conscientious members of our church.

Could I therefore accede to the dean of Gloucester's general position, I should still maintain, that the present articles should be utterly rejected. A bond of union, which is to serve for six millions of people, should be plain and simple. No abstruse definitions should enter into its contexture. It should be marked by a precision sufficient to discriminate the society from those communities, which either deny all revelation, or reject that which we admit: yet at the same time so general, as not to exclude any man, professing faith in Christ, who, approving our forms of discipline, and mode of worship, is desirous of joining in adoration

tion with us, and will give security for his peaceable demeanour.

I own, were I presumptuous enough to propose a bond of religious union, in Dr. Tucker's sense of the expression, to this great nation, I should approve of that which, in the case of the dissenting ministers, was lately patronized by your house. Let us be united in a profession, that "the scriptures contain a revelation of the will of God, and that we are content to take them as a sufficient rule of faith and practice." In such a case, we shall certainly all be CHRISTIANS: and as the negative of the latter part of the aforesaid declaration, is the fundamental principle of that religious society, from which we profess, and should ever wish, to be disjoined, we shall also then be PROTESTANTS. And indeed, we have no claim to the title, of which we occasionally so proudly boast, unless we disclaim the authority of man in religious matters, in a manner as express, as that in which we now assert it.

From what has been urged in the preceding pages, one point at least, I think, may be clearly proved, viz. that in order to form a just and accurate conception of the

question, which now divides this nation, we should consider the clergy of this kingdom, as a corporation of men intirely distinct from the national church in which they minister, and of which they only form an inconsiderable part. The end and design of these societies, their bonds of union, their internal polity, their measures, and their resolutions, are essentially distinguished from each other, and should not therefore be confounded.

The absurdity of the articles, or their contrariety with the word of God, were not insisted upon in the late petition; and this, because, as frequently has been observed, an entrance into such a controversy would be a departure from our proper question. Our adversaries indeed have often endeavoured, by their publications, to engage us in such unedifying disputes. Nay, have even called upon us to give a confession of our own. But, instead of pointing out those inconsistencies which, alas, are but too apparent in our religious system, we esteem it more consistent, as members of an establishment, which claims the name of protestant, to remonstrate against the
imposition

imposition of every religious formulary of man's device, explanatory of the words and sense of scripture. And we maintain, as the fundamental principle of the present application, that the security required of every priest, at the time of ordination, is the only test of orthodoxy which a protestant minister ought to give, or a protestant church can, with any consistency, demand.

There is one point more on which I could expatiate; but your own reflections will anticipate whatever I can say. I mean the affair of academical subscriptions. The university of Cambridge hath, in the case of the first degree in arts, on account of the plea of youth, lately substituted the following declaration in the room of the old subscription, viz. " I do, bonâ fide, declare, I am a member of the church of England, as by law established." But, should not the reverend gentlemen have considered, that many of our youth are, by privilege annexed to noble birth, allowed to take a master of arts degree at two years standing; whereas the persons they have affected to relieve, with a view of screening themselves

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from parliamentary inquiry, must necessarily reside till they have nearly compleated four? Why should the bachelors of music, of physic, and of law, be bound to the ancient formulary, and the bachelor of arts alone released? The plea of danger to the constitution of the university, will not avail the opponents of Mr. Tyrwhitt's generous proposal. Such graduates will not be intitled, by the requested indulgence, to a vote in the Cambridge senate, or to any authority, which may render them formidable to the church. Besides, the idea on which the opposition to the sentiments of your house, (so explicitly declared on the 6th of last February,) is founded, is exceptionable and illiberal throughout. Degrees are the testimonies and rewards of literary merit; and should therefore lie open to every son of science, without distinction of party, sect, or nation. They are essential requisites, in many instances, to the enjoyment of honours and emoluments in the liberal professions; but the act of conferring them does not of itself convey either emolument or authority, except in those cases where it would be injurious to society to withhold them.

them. The physician indeed may practise under the sanction of that authority, which the university affords ; but few, besides Mr. Madan, will contend for the propriety of his subscription to the articles of our church. And with respect to other instances, from which greater danger is to be apprehended, it may be observed, that no degree whatever will authorize the person, on whom it is conferred, either to minister or to preach in the church of England, without a legal ordination. And, even supposing we were to admit the illiberal idea, that the universities should be considered as seminaries for the education of youth, in one particular set of doctrines ; there is no room for apprehension, that the dissenting interest would ever become dangerously prevalent in those seats of learning ; as every fellow of a college, upon admission to his fellowship, subscribes a declaration of conformity to the worship of the established church.

I will conclude with observing, that, notwithstanding the weight of episcopal influence, very many of the clergy, either in whole or in part, have lately declared themselves in favour of our cause. And,
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notwithstanding the dissipated manners of the age, very many of our countrymen, of every rank and station, appear interested in the fate of this important question. They consider it as a question, which is then submitted to the proper jurisdiction, when brought before the great assembly of the nation; and are persuaded, that the peace, good order, and improvement of the society, will be materially promoted by its just decision.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

August 31, 1772.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





